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A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL

THE REVOLUTIONS OF OUR TIME

THE CONTINUING REVOLUTION OF THE NEW SOCIETY

RAFAEL PALMA CENTENNIAL

JUAN SUMULONG CENTENNIAL

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY

DOCUMENTS

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CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY: A CENTENNIAL ESTIMATE *

By Dr. Salvador P. Lopez

It is indeed fitting that at this momentous period in our history, the Philippine Historical Association should choose "A Century of Struggle for National Survival" as the theme of its annual national seminar. It is equally fitting that this seminar should begin today — Bonifacio Day — since our struggles for national survival are inextricably linked with the lives and deeds of our heroes.

The period from 1872 to 1972 is probably the most fascinating and exciting, the most romantic and tumultuous century in our nation's checkered history. Inevitably, therefore, the events, the men and the ideas of the century have been the object of most historical, biographical and institutional studies, to say nothing of literary works, by Filipino and foreign scholars interested in Philippine history and culture.

Indeed, most of the speakers in this seminar have written about one or more aspects or facets of our history during the past one hundred years, and by the end of this seminar, all of them will certainly have done so.

The following is a random listing of recent works dealing with the period: Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, **The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan**; **Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic**; and **The Fateful Years: The Japanese Adventure in the Philippines**; Dr. Oscar M. Alfonso, **Theodore Roosevelt and the Philippines, 1897-1909**; Dr. Romeo V. Cruz, "Philippine Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century: a Liberal Concept;" Prof. Esteban de Ocampo, "History and Significance of June 12;" Prof. Celedonio Resurreccion, "Rizal and the Public Conscience;" Ambassador Vicente Albano Pacis, **President Sergio Osmeña**; Prof. Carlos Quirino,

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*Keynote address delivered at the 1973 Annual Seminar on History of the Philippine Historical Association held at the National Library Auditorium, Manila, on November 30, 1973.

Manuel L. Quezon: Palladin of Freedom; Dr. Bonifacio S. Salamanca, **The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913**; Fr. John Schumacher, **The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895**; Dr. Cesar Adib Majul, **The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution**; Dr. Gregorio F. Zaide, **The Philippine Revolution**; Dr. Theodore Friend, **Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946**; Dr. David J. Steinberg, **Philippine Collaboration in World War II**; Prof. Amelia L. Bonifacio, **The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation**; Prof. Leopoldo Y. Yabes, "Rizal and National Greatness," and many more.

Since the significance of specific eras during this century of struggle will be treated at length by your guest speakers during the next three days, I shall limit myself to certain generalizations regarding the century as a whole, using for this purpose Professor Arnold Toynbee's familiar analytical device: the concept of challenge and response.

During the century under review, we as a people were confronted with three major challenges of varying degrees of intensity, e.g., the continuing Spanish domination, culminating in the Philippine Revolution of 1896-1898; the American colonial rule, ushered in by the Philippine-American War of 1899-1901; and the Japanese Occupation, brought about by the War in the Pacific, 1941-1945.

SPANISH DOMINATION

It is indicative of the decadence of the once mighty Spanish Empire that when our nineteenth-century forebears, after three centuries of Hispanization, wanted to be treated as Spanish citizens, Spain failed to mobilize the adaptive capacities which had characterized its initial encounter with the Filipinos in the 16th century. Instead of accommodating the emerging demands and expectations of the Filipino leadership, Spain chose to employ repressive measures in order to perpetuate its colonial rule. The campaign for reforms was eventually escalated to include a demand for separation, and when Spain remained obstinate, the Filipinos under Bonifacio's leadership resorted to the force of arms. During the Philippine Revolution of 1896-1898, the feeling of nationalism and the desire for independence, at first confined to a relatively small number of people in the Tagalog provinces, became a widespread and broadly-based movement. As James A. LeRoy, a perceptive American observer, wrote in the early 1900's:

> We should be far from the truth if we should say that this Tagalog rebellion, and the demonstrations of sympathy with it in other provinces, brought the Filipino people together in a unanimous sentiment for independence. That it did greatly stimulate this feeling is certain. He would be a bold man who would now assert that independence was not the common aspiration, when outside pressure suddenly pricked the bubble of Spanish sovereignty in 1898 and released the people for the free expression of their sentiments.

The proclamation of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898 formalized our aspiration to freedom and symbolized our attainment of nationhood.

THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE

The new nation was soon to be confronted, however, by a more formidable challenge, this time by the United States — a rising world power deeply conscious of its "Manifest Destiny" to impose its "benevolent" rule upon the Filipinos. In the end, General Aguinaldo and his followers had no alternative but to strive to preserve the gains of the Revolution and ensure the survival of the nation. The Philippine-American War was a war which we could not have won.

The years following the end of this war constitute a watershed in our evolution as a nation. While the demand for independence was moderated for a while, owing mainly to the cooptation of the Filipino elite into the American administration, it is nevertheless true that Filipino nationalism became stronger as the nineteen twenties wore on. It was an essential factor behind the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act which set us on the road to independence in 1946.

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

The Japanese occupation, however, rudely interrupted our scheduled peaceful march towards independence. Again our people had to take up arms to resist the invader, and we continued the struggle even after the guns on Bataan and Corregidor had been silenced. To borrow Churchill's famous phrase, this was our nation's finest hour.

To summarize, we might say that the positive result, the net gain from our responses to the three major challenges to our survival has been the formulation of our national identity and the forging of our national unity.

Overall, however, the loss suffered by the nation has been tremendous. We have remained almost static in the domain of economic and social development. Like a mighty typhoon, each challenge to our nation left in its wake a shattered edifice of national progress which each time had to be painstakingly rehabilitated and reconstructed. We had no sooner mounted a barely successful recovery when another powerful blow would be administered to the nation.

It is not surprising, therefore, that our bouts with successive challenges have generated a national syndrome of survivalism. Survival mentality in turn inhibited, for the greater part of the century, innovative thinking and positive planning for national development. The quest for progress, which is the bedrock of national greatness, has never enjoyed high priority in the agenda of the nation.

Perhaps, this point can be elucidated more graphically by comparing our record with that of Japan.

A few years ago, Japan celebrated with understandable pride, the centenary of the onset of the Meiji Era. During that century, Japan had been transformed from a decaying feudal society subsisting on an agrarian economy to a modern state, an industrial colossus outranking most of the nations of the Western world, including Western Europe where the Industrial Revolution had its beginnings.

The Philippines was probably better off than Japan in 1872 when the Revolution had barely gathered momentum. After all, our country had been exposed to world commerce long before 1854 when Japan made the fateful decision to abandon its policy of seclusion and exclusion that had ossified its feudal society for more than two centuries. Standing at the crossroads of East Asia, the Philippines was freely exposed to the winds of progress and benefited from the world-wide commercial prosperity of the nineteenth century, at a time when the Japanese shoguns and daimyos were frantically, if quixotically, striving to isolate their nation from the outside world.

The Second World War brought low both Japan and the Philippines. But, whereas, the nuclear holocaust and catastrophic defeat which Japan suffered in 1945 could not long retard her powerful thrust towards development, we Filipinos are still trying today to shake off the after-effects of the war and the enemy occupation, still trying to negotiate a long postponed industrial takeoff. Openly envious and jealous of our northern neighbor who long ago overtook us somewhere on the road and left us far behind, we are burdened with the feeling that "history has double-crossed our nation" and robbed us of our "rendezvous with destiny."

THE NEXT CHALLENGE

In their book, **The Lessons of History**, Will and Ariel Durant asked: "Of what use have (historical) studies been? . . . . Is it possible that, after all, history has no sense, that it teaches us nothing, and that the immense past was only the weary rehearsal of the mistakes that the future is destined to make on a larger stage and scale?"

At the risk of being presumptuous, since I am not a professional historian, I would like to end my brief remarks by addressing myself to these questions.

I believe that the study of history has many uses, including practical uses. While there may be no laws of history comparable to the laws of physics which are immutable and hence predictable, the study of history can at least suggest certain guidelines for future action based on what is known about man, nature and society and what happens when each of these acts upon or interacts with the others. While history may not repeat itself, there is a certain cyclical pattern, a rhythmic pulse, in the endless progression of events.

We may reject the doctrine of the capriciousness of fate as well as the doctrine of historical inevitability, but there is a sense in which history, as a chain of events, can be influenced, perhaps organized, and possibly even managed.

This, in effect, is the ancient dispute between predestination and free will, between belief in man as a pawn in the hands of the gods and belief in man as the master of his fate.

It is in this context that I now dare to pose a challenge to ourselves as a people. The challenge is this: We Filipinos like to pride ourselves in our capacity to endure misfortune, our ability to survive disaster. Inhabiting an archipelago located at one of the busiest crossroads of the Asian world, in the path of the sea caravans that for countless centuries brought to our shores an endless succession of traders and adventurers, teachers and missionaries, colonists and conquerors — a land blest by the sun and curst by the wind — we Filipinos have learned to compare ourselves to the bamboo that bends to the storm and rises again when the storm has passed, a nation so resilient, so flexible, so desperately eager to survive that it may have forgotten what it is to stand up straight, in the face of typhoon or tyrant, for what is necessary and essential, for what is right and just, and thus to survive standing erect instead of merely enduring, supine and safe.

When will we Filipinos learn that merely to survive is not enough? That the syndrome of survivalism can become a disease which, in the end, may prove to be as fatal as radical suicide itself—since it could mean the eternal death of the human spirit?

Today, we Filipinos are called upon to respond to what is perhaps the most serious challenge that has been flung at our nation in a hundred years: the challenge of thorough-going social reform and national renewal, of a dynamic revolution that seeks to change us all, in heart and mind and spirit, not for a day or a month or a year, but for always.

The challenge we face is not to bend to the wind of martial law, to wait, to keep quiet, to lie low, to become invisible, to disappear — because these are the devices of the opportunist; it is rather to do one's share in the difficult but essential work that is waiting to be done, so that our people, after this strenuous time of testing and trial, may move beyond the goal of mere survival and achieve a more abundant life, a more meaningful existence, a more just and compassionate society, a more effective and democratic system of government.

What we need to do, in short, is to try to change the course of Philippine history by rejecting the spurious analogy of the bamboo bending before the storm as symbolizing the highest wisdom of nature, which is the instinct of survival, and to begin recognizing the vice of our virtue and making instead a virtue of our vice.

THE FILIPINO-AMERICAN WAR, 1899-1901 *

By Teodoro A. Agoncillo

When the Americans crossed the vast Pacific to plant their flag on Philippine soil, their ruling statesmen and petty politicians rationalized the opening of the new era of America's coming of age by such pious statements as it was the duty of the United States to bring civilization to uncivilized peoples of the world and to give these peoples the blessings of America's way of life. President William McKinley, in particular, was reported to have told a religious delegation who came to see him at the White House that he paced his room almost the whole night not knowing what to do with the Philippines and that he fell on his knees to ask the Almighty to give him light on the subject of whether the Philippines should or should not be taken by the United States. This story may sound beautiful to the ears of the professional pious men and women, but its authenticity is dubious. For responsible American politicians from Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge had expressed in unambiguous terms the need of the United States to extend her frontiers across the Pacific. Captain Alfred T. Mahan furnished the most singular argument for the extension of the American frontiers to the Pacific with his brilliant and lucid **The Influence of Sea Power on History.** American scholars writing with enough temporal distance to acquire perspective, have made studies on America's motives in extending the American frontiers in the 1890's and came to the conclusion that economic motives impelled the American people and their leaders to break out of their shell of non-involvement in the affairs of other nations and to pursue a career of imperialism. Contemporary American scholars are almost unanimous in concluding that American motive in colonizing Hawaii and the Philippines was far from benevolent and that foreign markets for American surplus goods, American naval and military outposts for the protection of American interests in Asia, and the desire to have a center for American missionary activities, were the basic motives that drove America to experiment in imperialism. There are a few variations on these themes, those enunciated principally by the late Richard Hofstadter and H. Wayne Morgan, but the dominant note of imperial ambition remains.

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*Paper read at the 1973 Annual Seminar on History of the Philippine Historical Association held at the National Library Auditorium, Manila, on November 30, 1973.

Public opinion in the United States was coming to a point at which it was almost impossible for those in Washington to ignore the realities of the Cuban situation. The United States had huge investments in Cuba which were being endangered by the deteriorating condition of the country. Whether the United States was morally justified in interfering with Cuban affairs, considering that Cuba was a colony of a friendly power, is better left to moralists to judge. What is certain is that American investments in Cuba had to be protected and the excuse to intervene came with the mysterious sinking of the battleship **Maine** at Havana harbor. The Spanish-American War that followed decided the fate of the Philippines. Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was known to have an inverted affection for the Spaniards and wanted war with them. Taking advantage of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long's absence from office one afternoon, Roosevelt ordered Commodore George Dewey, who owed his appointment to Roosevelt as commander of the Asiatic Squadron, to proceed to Japan to take over command of the Squadron. "You are the man," said Roosevelt to Dewey, "who will be equal to the emergency if one arises." Dewey, studying the situation closely, moved his fleet from Yokohama to Hongkong on orders of Roosevelt. When war between Spain and the United States finally broke out, Dewey was in a position to size up the Spanish defenses in Manila and Corregidor. The battle of Manila Bay on 1 May 1898 was hailed as a great naval battle by the Americans, although the Spanish ships and armament were inferior to those of the Americans. Nevertheless, Dewey became a hero overnight.

In the meantime, the American consuls at Hongkong and Singapore persuaded General Emilio Aguinaldo to throw his lot with the Americans and, having been assured personally by Consul-General Spencer Pratt that the United States would not colonize the Philippines and that his country would help the Filipinos win their independence, Aguinaldo agreed to collaborate with the Americans. On board an American ship, Aguinaldo was brought to Cavite and landed here on 19 May 1898. The armed struggle against Spain was renewed with vigor and the second epoch of the Revolution opened with Filipino arms clashing with those of the Spanish all over Luzon. In August, the Bisayas became involved in the struggle for freedom

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when the Ilongos established the Provisional Revolutionary Committee at Sta. Barbara. The Revolution against Spain had now become national in scope, for in some places in Mindanaw Filipinos broke loose from their chains and fought the Spanish colonizers. By the second half of 1898, therefore, the Revolution which started in Central and Southwestern Luzon had radiated to the Ilokos and the Cagayan Valley in the north and to the Bikol region, the Bisayas, and some parts of Mindanaw in the south.

It was at this moment of victory that the Americans intruded into the scene. Having won Aguinaldo's confidence, the American field commanders, Dewey and Major-General Wesley Merritt, began to show signs of turning their backs on Aguinaldo. While still too weak to invest the City of Manila, they cemented their relations with the revolutionists by giving them some arms with which to fight the common enemy, Spain. Meanwhile, the American government sent reinforcements to the Philippines and by July 1898, the Filipino revolutionists were dumbfounded to find American soldiers wading to the shores of Parañaque and Pasay. The Filipino field commanders, especially Generals Artemio Ricarte, Pio del Pilar, and Mariano Noriel, called the attention of General Aguinaldo to what they believed was American bad intention, but Aguinaldo, with a kind of naiveté that was to be his undoing, refused to listen to their advice to attack the Americans while they were still weak.

From the time the first American reinforcements arrived in Manila Bay on 30 June 1898, American action in Manila and environs showed that the United States had no intention of playing Santa Claus to the Filipinos and that the expeditionary force to the Philippines would crush any opposition. From this point, one can trace the lines of action taken by the Americans that showed, on the one hand, their real intention in the Philippines, and, on the other, the series of events that led to the incident at Balsahan Bridge on the night of 4 February 1899 which triggered the Filipino-American War.

The action of the American military commanders, first General Wesley Merritt and then his successor, General Elwell Otis, in demanding that General Aguinaldo, the ally largely responsible for weakening the Spaniards in and outside the Walled City, withdraw his forces around the City of Manila (Intramuros) and its immediate suburbs after the surrender of the City to the American forces, was an act not of an ally but of an enemy. When one considers, too, that even before this peremptory demand Aguinaldo was prohibited by Merritt, acting through General Francis V. Greene, from entering the City, one cannot help suspecting that the Americans were up to something not conducive to harmonious relations between them and the Filipinos. The insolent demand was followed by another demand that the Filipinos supply the American forces with transportation facilities and food. The shift in the relationship from allies to potential enemies was underscored when General Otis actually favored the common enemy by his denunciation of alleged inhuman treatment by Filipinos of the Spanish prisoners of war, especially the friars who, as Apolinario Mabini pointed out, took up arms against the Filipino insurgents. Denying the allegation of maltreatment of the Spanish prisoners of war, Mabini, writing for Aguinaldo, said that "International law does not compel us to feed the families of the prisoners of war, yet we are feeding them. The families of the Spanish prisoners of war are not maltreated and and sent to jail. They joined their husbands in jail. And we had to feed them, together with the prisoners."

The souring relations between the allies were exacerbated when the Treaty of Paris of 10 December 1898, which transferred the Philippines to the United States, reached the Filipino camp. The nationalistic newspapers led by General Antonio Luna's **La Independencia**, had a field day attacking in severe terms American apostasy. There was no longer any doubt in the minds of the Filipino leaders that the United States sold Aguinaldo down the river and that war was inevitable. This feeling of hostility to the Americans was fanned by President McKinley's enunciation of his policy contained in his so-called "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation" of 21 December. The proclamation was clear enough: the Americans were in the Philippines to stay. In the minds of the Filipino leaders the war between Spain and the United States resulted in a change of masters insofar as the Filipinos were concerned, and in this change of masters the Filipinos were used by the Americans as accessory to the fact.

Such was the situation when the Americans invaded Iloilo. The heroism of the Bisayans in Iloilo and elsewhere in their struggle against the Americans is now history. Aguinaldo, learning of the invasion, issued a proclamation of 5 January 1899 in which he cited American violations of the ethics of friendship, most especially the order to occupy Iloilo without any provocation, and concluded:

> Such procedures, so foreign to the dictates of culture and the usages observed by civilized nations, gave me the right to act without observing the usual rules of intercourse. Nevertheless, in order to be correct to the end, I sent General Otis commissioners charged to solicit him to desist from his rash enterprise, but they were not listened to.
>
> My Government cannot remain indifferent in view of such violent and aggressive seizure of a portion of its territory by a nation which arrogated to itself the title of champion of oppressed nations. Thus it is that my Government is disposed to open hostilities if the American troops attempt to take forcible possession of the Visayan Islands. I denounce these acts before the world, in order that the conscience of mankind may pronounce its infallible verdict as to who are the true oppressors of nations and the tormentors of humankind.

The publication of this proclamation, and its revised edition, in the **Heraldo de la Revolucion**, the official organ of the Malolos Government, had the effect of exacerbating the anger of the Filipinos, on the one hand, and the realization on the part of General Otis that the Filipinos were prepared to fight the Americans on the other. Aguinaldo's attempt to relax the tension by proposing the meeting of the Filipino and American commissioners in order to thresh out matters, did not improve the situation, for the American commissioners stalled and tried to delay the negotiations in order to give the American ships loaded with soldiers to reach Manila on time. This delaying tactic so irked the Malolos Government that it became suspicious of the American motive in meeting with the Filipino commissioners. It was observed in Malolos that the Schurman Commission was being sent to the Philippines and that American volunteers were being shipped across the Pacific for purposes not exactly peaceful. From these known facts, the Malolos Government deduced that the American authorities in the Philippines were merely playing for time in order to stabilize their position in the Philippines and, later, to enslave the Filipinos. Otis dutifully denied the accusation, but General R. P. Hughes, the chairman of the American commissioners that met with their Filipino counterparts, said before the American Senate in 1902 in the course of an extensive investigation into the Philippine situation:

> We were very sorry, at least I was, to have the conferences stopped, because I was trying to prolong them until General Lawton's ship could get there [in Manila] with four battalions, which we needed very much. But we could not stretch out any longer. The papers had begun to attack us, and stated absolutely in words that we were doing nothing but trying to gain time....

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By late January, Filipino feeling was that war with the Americans was inevitable. As a matter of fact, Aguinaldo had begun issuing instructions on how to deal with any emergency that might arise, especially on how to kill Americans. By early February, a series of little incidents between the Filipino and American soldiers led to the snapping of the tension. On 1 February, a group of Americans was arrested by a contingent of Filipino troops and sent to Malolos. Otis protested the arrest but Aguinaldo answered that they were not arrested but merely detained and that they had already been released. Aguinaldo pointed out that the Americans were detained because they were well within the Filipino lines on Solis Street, Tondo, and that they were arrested in accordance with his decree of 20 October 1898 prohibiting foreigners from approaching the Filipino defensive works. Tension continued to build up and on 3 February it reached serious proportions when General Arthur MacArthur protested the presence of Colonel Luciano San Miguel's soldiers in what the American commander called "his territory." The protest contained an unveiled warning that "if the line is crossed by your men with arms in their hands they must be regarded as subject to such action as I may deem necessary." To ease the tension, San Miguel withdrew his men from the American lines in the presence of an American military officer.

But the easing of the tension was temporary. The tension reached its climax on the night of 4 February when an American detachment, patrolling the village of Santol near Balsahan or San Juan Bridge came upon a small group of Filipinos. The patrol was instructed to order back all armed persons coming from the Filipino lines and to arrest them if they refused. The patrol was to use force only upon failure to arrest the erring men. Private Willie W. Grayson was a member of the American patrol. When four men suddenly appeared before the patrol, Grayson yelled "Halt!"

> . . . the man moved [said Grayson], I challenged with another "Halt!" Then he [a Filipino soldier] immediately shouted "Halto!" to me. Well I thought the best thing to do was to shoot him. He dropped. Then two Filipinos sprang out of the gateway about fifteen feet from us. I called "Halt!" and Miller fired and dropped one. I saw that another was left. Well I think I got my second Filipino that time. We retreated to where our six other fellows were and I said, "Line up fellows; the enemy are in here all through these yards." We then retreated to the pipe line and got behind the water work main and stayed there all night. It was some minutes after our second shots before Filipinos began firing.

Without making any attempt at investigating the incident, General MacArthur ordered his men to advance against the Filipino troops. Private Grayson's shots triggered the Filipino-American War.

That the Filipino commanders were not prepared for the immediate opening of hostilities is proved by the fact that they were not in their respective Zone Headquarters but in Malolos attending a dance . Only the telegram of Captain Fernando Grey, then acting for Colonel San Miguel who was in Malolos, which broke the news about shots exchanged, made the Filipino field commanders and General Aguinaldo realize that war had flared up between the erstwhile allies. Aguinaldo pleaded with General Otis to have the hostilities stopped and said that "firing on our side the night before had been against my orders," but Otis, arrogant as ever, haughtily answered that "fighting, having begun, must go onto the grim end." Aguinaldo had no alternative but to accept reality and so he ordered the people to prepare for the worse. At the same time, he ordered an investigation of the incident to determine the source or sources of the conflict. The Commission of Investigation heard the testimonies of witnesses, among them General Artemio Ricarte, Mariano Noriel, Captain Fernando Grey, and Juan Cailles. Summarizing the testimonies, the Commission concluded that from all indications, the Americans had been preparing for war against the Filipinos. The fact that the Filipino troops were taken by surprise shows that they were not, at the moment, preparing to attack the Americans. Whatever preparations had been made were done for defensive, not for offensive, purposes.

The lightning-like moves of General MacArthur and the superiority of American arms paved the way for their victories in almost all sectors. The triumphs of the Filipinos in the field were limited and not decisive. From Manila the American forces sliced through Central and Southern Luzon. Malolos, the capital of the Republic, was taken, and with it were captured the chests filled with documents which, later on, were brought to the United States and labeled Philippine Insurgent Records. General Otis predicted that the Filipino armed forces would collapse within a few months. The American newspaper correspondents who "covered" the war in all sectors demurred and accused the bemoustached general of twisting facts.

Otis struck back by imposing a strict consorship of the press a circumstance which led the reporters to protest Otis's arbitrary curtailment of the freedom of the press. The Filipinos, the soldiers

Ambeth Ocampo

as well as the civil population, fought against odds but at the same time they inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. That Otis was lying about American casualties and underrating the Filipinos in the battle may be gleaned from a report of an American field officer who said:

> To conquer these islands will take at least 75,000 men. So far, their losses have probably been less than ours. We know what our losses are in a fight, and we get a pretty good idea of the enemy's as we usually remain for the time being in possession of the field. The reports published in America underrate our losses and vastly overestimate the enemy's. We have always had to attack them in a chosen field and fortified position. The odds are all against us.

That American soldiers were not as gallant as their propagandists among their countrymen and Filipinos imagined them to be, is shown by the cruelty with which the former treated not only the Filipino soldiers but also the civilians. The letters written by some conscience-stricken American soldiers to their families and friends in the United States testify to the brutality of the majority of the American soldiers. Such cruel punishments as the so-called water-cure, hanging by the thumb, beating until the victim was blue in the face, the use of electricity, and other punishments too sordid to detail here, were standard operating procedure. Lest I be accused of bias, I refer you not to the voluminous documents in the U.S. National Archives, but to Leon Wolff's **Little Brown Brother** (New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961). Wolff is an American. Another book, **The Filipino Martyrs** (Philippine edition: Quezon City, Malaya Books, Inc., 1970) by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, is an eyewitness account of American brutalities in the Philippines during the Filipino-American War. But to be fair, it must be made clear that the Filipinos, too, were guilty of committing atrocities against the Americans. As a Filipino, I think that Filipino brutality can be explained by the fact that the Filipinos of those days were angered by what they considered as American treachery. To a Filipino friendship is sacred, and so he could not understand the implications of American apostasy in terms of national self-interests. Consequently, when the Americans fooled not only Aguinaldo but the Filipino people by making it appear that they were allies but in reality enemies, the Filipinos could not help treating the Americans with cruelty. If the invaders who pretended to be friends practised deception and cruelty on their allies, why should not the Filipinos, who were victims of American apostasy and cruelty, practise cruelty to even up matters? I am not justifying brutality in any form; what I am trying to explain is why the Filipinos became brutal to the Americans. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand American brutality when they were the ones guilty of transgressing the territory of the Filipinos. For Filipinos to be brutal to the invaders is natural; for the invaders to be brutal to the victims of their transgression is unnatural.

It is not necessary to detail the plight of the Filipinos and their government. Aguinaldo retreated to Pangasinan, then to Mountain Province, down to Cagayan, and finally to Isabela where he hid from the Americans and from where he directed the guerrilla warfare. Through the treachery of some Filipinos and a Spanish officer in the Filipino Army, General Aguinaldo was captured at Palanan on 23 March 1901. He was brought to Manila where, finding the Filipino cause a lost one, he took his oath of allegiance to the United States. Meanwhile, General Miguel Malvar took his place in the field and continued the struggle against the enemy. The Americans, confronted by the massive help the civillians were rendering their **guerrilleros**, resorted to what was called reconcentration which, during the Japanese Occupation in 1942-1945, was called **sona**. The system worked, and the guerrillas were deprived of their sources of food supplies and the active help of the populace. Faced with hunger, General Malvar surrendered to the Americans on 16 April 1902. His surrender and that of General Vicente Lukban on 22 February and of General Noriel early in April, marked the end of the systematic struggle against the Americans. The sporadic struggles of some recalcitrant patriots like Macario Sakay, Lucio de Vega, Julian Montalan, and others whom the American authorities in the Philippines called bandits, did not change a bit the reality of American conquest of the Philippines.

In American official and unofficial accounts of the struggle against the United States, the term "insurrection" has been used to describe the Filipinos's armed reaction to American intrusion in the Philippines. I have used the term "war" to describe the event, for it was a real war between two nations. While it is true that the Treaty of Paris of 10 December 1898 legally transferred the Philippines to the United States, it was nevertheless not binding until after the Senate confirmation of the treaty. This occurred on 6 February 1899. The hostilities occurred on 4 February, two days before the U.S. Senate's ratification of the treaty. The Spanish Cortes refused to ratify the treaty and the Queen Regent was compelled to ratify it on 19 March. The official exchange of ratifications, the last stage in making a treaty effective, was consummated on 11 April. Obviously, the Philippines was not yet a possession of the United States when hostilities broke out on 4 February 1899. To this may be added the fact that the Filipinos were still fighting the Americans when the exchange of ratifications took place and that the Filipinos were even then questioning the legality of giving the Philippines to the United States since Spain, the giver, had already been ousted from the Philippines when the Treaty of Paris and the exchange of ratifications took place. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Englishman already referred to, said in his book:

> The United States government may boast of the purchase of the Philippines from Spain; but could that power sell a colony which she practically no longer controlled or possessed? Could the American government acquire a title which no longer was vested in Spain? Have the Filipinos made unjust demands of the American government? For what have they asked? The fulfillment of America's assurance and the promises which were given. Freedom without a conqueror's oppression.

The same argument was advanced by the Filipino diplomatic representative to the United States when he protested the transfer of the Philippines to the United States. In his **Memorial to the Senate,** he said partly:

> . . . it was not possible for Spain to yield any right as to property of this nature as against the Government of the Philippine Islands, for all the authorities upon the subject of international law, public property goes to the captor of the country, and may not be transferred by any expelled nation to a foreign government against the right of the nation which has gained possession of the country by conquest. It, therefore, follows that the public buildings, etc., recited as ceded by Spain to the United States could not have been so ceded but of right and by international law belong to the successor of the Spanish power in the Philippines; that is to say, to the Philippine Government representing the independent people of these islands.

Reason and justice could not deter the American imperialists from pushing farther west the Pacific frontiers of the United States. It was to the glory of the American dream of empire to take the Philippines with or without the consent of the Filipinos, and so it was necessary for the imperialists of 1898 to invent excuses and to provide the incident to spark the hostilities which, in their day of assumed innocence, they deliberately twisted into insurgency. To the Filipinos, it was war — a war for national survival. That it took the American forces three solid years, and not a few months as General Otis boasted, for them to wear down the armed opposition of the poorly equipped Filipinos is evidence not only of the latter's tenacity and heroism, as admitted by the American war corespondents, but also of their intense desire to live an independent life. It is true that the very few intellectuals and wealthy among the Filipinos opted for American intervention and colonization, but they were exceptional opportunists who would like to retain their elevated status in society and, more significantly, to improve it, if possible.

Studying the ramifications and complexities of the Filipino-American War, one is tempted to deduce lessons from it, lessons which, only if given serious attention, would benefit the present generation of Filipinos. In the first place, it is neither wise nor prudent to rely on mere promises. Every promise, even if made by invoking the Almighty, should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt and treated as subterfuge to veil motives not exactly benevolent or humane. In the second place, power and power alone, whatever the incorrigible moralists say, determines the legality of an act. Morality in international relations is nothing when national self-interests are at stake. The history of international relations from ancient times to the present eloquently testifies to the truth of German Chancellor Theobold Bethmann-Hollweg's dictum that "necessity knows no law." This may sound cynical to the ears of the naive and the hypocrite, but Bethmann-Hollweg, like Machiavelli before him, was merely being realistic and so he stated the obvious: that international relations have been and are being conducted not on the plane of idealism and high morality, but on the basis of national self-interests. This is the reality of international politics which cannot be denied with an assumed air of sainthood. Every great Power of the world has, at one time or other, posed as a symbol of justice but at other times, when its national self-interests so demanded, acted contrary to its posed idealism and embarked upon a career of expansion, exploitation, brutality and injustice. This is an observation that is deduced from the history of nations. Imperialism and its contemporary synonym, colonialism, was, is, and never will be benevolent and just. I find no exception to this historical truth.

The history of the Filipinos under three flags — the Spanish, the American and the Japanese — points to the imperative necessity of taking to heart the bitter lessons of our past. To ignore or forget these lessons, as we have ignored them until very recent times, is to suffer once more the sad and tragic experience of the race.

THE CHANGING STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL DURING THE COMMISSION ERA, 1902-1916 *

By Bonifacio S. Salamanca

I

The end-of-the-century upheaval that was the Philippine Revolution and the over three years of the Philippine-American War were followed by a long period of relative tranquility in our country. After a near fatal collapse during these two successive struggles for survival, the nation would rise to its feet again, assisted by an American colonial administration that had been initially imposed by the most brutal means, but which, in its continuance, would be surprisingly lacking in severity. The American tenure in the Philippines turned out to be not a period of struggle for national survival but rather a "half-century of compromise," of accommodation between Philippine nationalism and American imperialism.

The essence of that compromise may be stated simply as follows: instead of seeking the triumph of nationalism through open combat and guerrilla warfare, earlier strategies that had failed miserably, the Filipino nationalists chose to work for independence by pacific means. Lured to positions of influence and power by a colonial policy of attraction, they mobilized the burgeoning governmental apparatus to achieve the social and economic goals of nationalism, and utilized the ever-expanding web of physical and social communications to strengthen and ensure the durability of national unity.

Even as they were co-opted into the colonial regime, and thus exposed themselves to the charge of national betrayal, the Filipino leadership did not abandon the political goals of nationalism, especially independence. Through formal and informal channels, they labored to secure from the United States, first, an authoritative declaration that it intended to recognize Philippine independence and, second, a binding commitment to withdraw its sovereignty from the Philippines on a specific date.

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*Paper read at the 1973 Annual Seminar on History of the Philippine Historical Association held at the National Library Auditorium, December 1, 1973.

Mission number one was accomplished during the era of the Philippine Commission, 1902-1916; how this phase of the "struggle" was won is the main focus of my lecture.

II

Early American policy regarding the future status of the Philippines was first officially expressed in the Philippine Organic Act of July, 1902, although it was indicated as early as December, 1898, when President William McKinley instructed General Elwell Otis to follow a policy of "benevolent assimilation." This policy was further refined in the famous Letter of Instructions of April 7, 1900 to the Second, or Taft, Philippine Commission, and expanded in the Philippine Organic Act of 1902: its goal was the progressive extension of self-government to the Filipinos as they became better qualified to accept and discharge the responsibility. This policy, which remained unchanged until the Jones Law of 1916, did not promise independence, although Wm. Howard Taft, the first American civil governor, himself admitted that "it necessarily involves in its conclusion. . . the ultimate independence" of the Philippines.

Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded McKinley upon the latter's assassination in 1901, was favorably inclined toward Philippine independence from the onset of American rule, but he did not reveal this attitude officially until 1908. Even then he did so in a carefully guarded way, and only because he thought that independence was the logical course set for the Filipinos, though not promised to them, by the Organic Act of 1902.

What is interesting to point out is that both Roosevelt and Taft favored ultimate independence as the culmination of American policy, yet neither of them came out for it unequivocably and explicitly. Their reason was that it would be less than useful to the Filipino leaders of the early American period to be promised an independence which they had no chance of enjoying in their lifetime; after all, Roosevelt and Taft had on several occasions affirmed that it would take a generation, possibly two, to prepare the Filipinos for self-government. In the circumstances, Roosevelt and Taft felt that any promise of independence would only result in needless agitation for its immediate fulfillment.

III

We shall now turn to the Filipinos' campaign to change this American policy of uncertainty to one of definite commitment to independence.

The Federal Party. Curiously enough, the first organized group of co-opted nationalists, the members of the Federal Party, did not at first demand independence; on the contrary, they proposed that the Philippines be admitted to the American Union. This impractical program, however, would be repudiated in subsequent local elections such that in 1904, the Federal Party sought to change its program from statehood to independence; this became the party's official goal in 1905. Since it was now anomalous to continue with the original name, the members of the Federal Party would also change their party label to that of **Partido Progresista**; this they did in 1907. A complete turnabout would be accomplished in 1910 when Benito Legarda would join Manuel L. Quezon in addressing a long letter-memorial to the American secretary of war recommending, among others, that the United States immediately declare its intention to recognize Philippine independence.

Within a decade, therefore, the strongest advocates of cooperation with the American colonial regime would completely alter their impractical program of statehood to a demand for Philippine independence. Taft, who had nurtured the Party while Governor in the Philippines and Secretary of War under President T. Roosevelt and was President of the United States at the time, must have been jolted at the political somersault of the one-time **Federalistas**.

The Nacionalista Party. From the very day of its formal establishment in 1907, the **Nacionalista Party** had always advocated not only independence but also "immediate" independence. In control of the Philippine Assembly from its inception in 1907, the **Nacionalistas** would see to it that at the end of each Assembly session, a resolution was adopted unanimously, praying that the United States immediately declare its official policy towards the Philippines, and that the policy should be none other than independence, the sooner granted the better.

Complementing the advocacy of independence through party platforms and resolutions and annual Assembly petitions to the American government, the Filipino nationalists also made abundant use of newspapers and such other media of communication as novels and theatrical plays. Thus, in its issue of September 22, 1910, **El Ideal**, a **Nacionalista** organ, characterized American policy of withholding a definite promise of independence "a vicious policy," adding that even if such a promise were made with a specific date for its redemption, such a promise would no longer suffice, since independence "is considered necessary now." Novels and theatrical plays, such as **Banaag at Sikat, Pinaglaruan**, and **Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas,** were also published and staged.

Ten thousand miles away, in Washington, D.C. and in other parts of the United States the sentiments of the Filipinos for independence were brought much closer to American decision makers and their constituents by the Filipino Resident Commissioners. Although they were not entitled to vote, the Resident Commissioners were free to participate in the discussions on crucial bills affecting the Philippines in the House of Representatives of the American Congress. Of the Resident Commissioners during the Commission Era, Quezon easily stands out as the most ardent and active advocate of Philippine independence. It was he who drafted the first Jones Bill in 1912; and more than any other Filipino, he could claim that he had a hand in securing the passage of the Jones Law in 1916, the law through which the United States eventually promised to grant Philippine independence upon the establishment of a stable government here.

With the enactment of the Jones Law, the Commission Era came to an end. In just over a dozen years, American policy of indefinite retention had been superseded by a policy of independence. The Filipino nationalists of the Era, regardless of party affiliation, could well claim a large share of the credit for this far-reaching development. That this was accomplished without violent confrontation with the United States makes the strategy and tactics of the Filipino nationalists all the more impressive.

Was it really that impressive?

I raise this question or doubt with some hesitation because I have no desire to tarnish a magnificent accomplishment. But historical study must seek the truth, however elusive and unsavory it might be.

To go straight to the point: there are records which suggest that their public advocacy of independence notwithstanding, many, if not most, of the Filipino leaders—including Quezon and Osmeña—held private or personal views to the contrary.

To advance such a view, especially with reference to Quezon and Osmeña, would seem to be inconoclasm of the first order: the careers of these Filipino statesmen — before, during, and long after the Commission Era — were devoted to the cause of Philippine freedom. Certainly, their records of public service would appear to be much more convincing evidence of their real sentiments on the question of Philippine independence than all the letters or memoranda indicating that they may have believed otherwise. But records there are, and the ones I have consulted lead me to suspect that some time in their careers, Quezon and Osmeña believed that independence, particularly immediate independence, was not in the best interest of the Philippines.

In attempting to show that Quezon and Osmeña were against Philippine independence, at least during the Commission Era, I am by no means doing so with the intention of questioning their credentials as patriots or nationalists, or of denting their images as venerable statesmen. I am undertaking the exercise simply in the interest of truth, which, I repeat, the student of history must seek. For unlike in other fields, where to tell the truth may be only the best policy, in history it is **the only policy.**

The documentary evidence in support of this "revisionist" view is quite abundant, at least in American archival and manuscript collections. The ones I shall now cite constitute only a small portion thereof.

Writing to a close relative in 1907, sometime prior to the elections for the Philippine Assembly, William Cameron Forbes, then Vice-Governor-General, said:

> The most prominent leaders in what is called the Nationalists... are... very particular friends of mine, and I have asked them what their idea is in case they win — whether they are going to make any move to get independence — and they practically admitted to me that it was really a catchway of getting votes; that what they wanted was office, not independence.

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[1] I have treated this more fully in my **The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913** ([Hamden, Conn.]: The Shoe String Press, 1968).

Almost ten years later, at the height of the discussion on the final Jones Bill in 1916, Forbes wrote ex-President Roosevelt that he knew only "too well the feeling of the Filipinos toward independence to be very greatly impressed by their demand for it." He went on to assert that "the politicians who howl loudest don't want it and have so told me" but that they howled just the same "because it is a vote getter." After stating that Quezon had been working secretly in Washington against independence (about which more will be said presently), Forbes went on to describe what had happened the day he left the Philippine governorship in 1913:

> No less a person than the Speaker of the Assembly [i.e., Osmeña] told me that the Filipinos wanted independence only while it seemed to be getting farther off and the minute it began to get near they would begin to get very much frightened.

Forbes' assertion is corroborated by confidential memoranda of Quezon's conversations with the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (Frank McIntyre) in the War Department in December 1913 and January 1914:

> He [Quezon] said that he was prepared to advocate a new organic act [which] would settle the question of relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States for at least 25 years,... He said that there would perhaps be a little more difficulty in getting an an agreement to this now than there would have been a few years ago, in that independence now had acquired an attractive sound to the ear of the Filipinos.
>
> He expressed his fears of independence in the near future, basing his fears largely on the conduct of Japan.... He said, however, that before he could advocate anything short of independence or short of what he had been taking heretofore, he would like to feel that it would meet the approval of the administration....
>
> I asked him if he had explained this view to Mr. Osmeña. He said that he had, and that he thought Osmeña would be all right.
>
> I asked him if he had spoken of it to Governor Harrison. He said, My God, No. I think he believes in independence. He thinks he can turn us loose in about four years."[2]

In a later memorandum, McIntyre wrote as follows of their conversations in early January, 1914:

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[2] Frank McIntyre's Memorandum for the Secretary of War, December 29, 1913, BIA, File No. 4325/158.

> He [Quezon] said that he had seen Mr. Jones in Baltimore and subsequently here [Washington, D.C.] and that Mr. Jones told him that he was preparing a bill which would grant absolute independence to the Philippines within three years, and that he was afraid that he had impressed Mr. Jones unfavorably in standing out against that.[3]

It may be inferred from the above that what the Filipino leaders desired was not immediate independence, if ever, but rather an authoritative declaration that the United States should ultimately recognize Philippine independence, and accompany this declaration with the bestowal of more substantive powers to the Philippine government composed almost entirely of Filipinos. In a nutshell: **Autonomia, si. Independencia, no!**

How may one explain this attitude on the part of the nationalist elite?

It may be advanced as a general statement that they were entirely willing to sacrifice "immediate" independence, if not independence itself, to some indeterminate future date because most of their aspirations were being realized under American rule. Looking back at the demands of the Propagandists before the Revolution, we see that the elite in general desired the following: status and the protection of their economic interests; the grant of civil liberties; the separation of Church and State, or at least the expulsion of the friars and the confiscation of their vast estates; and the reform of the bureaucracy to make it a more efficient instrument for the promotion of certain goals, viz., better educational facilities, better roads, etc. Obviously, these aspirations meant that the elite would have a controlling voice in the government. However, independence was not one of their aspirations, nor was it originally contemplated as a means to an end.

The American regime accommodated many of the demands of the elite. A secular government was established in which they were accorded a greater role than in any other colonial regime in Asia. A modern civil service system was also set up. Furthermore, the American regime devoted itself to the social and, to a lesser extent, the material progress of the country. The friar lands were acquired and the vast public lands were practically reserved for the Filipinos.

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[3] Ibid., January 17, 1914, BIA File No. 4325/158.

Most important of all, free trade, which had been inaugurated on a limited basis in 1909 and made completely free in 1913, had not only increased the revenues of the government but also brought about a tremendous expansion of the sugar and tobacco industries; the nationalist elite profited immensely from such an expansion. While it can be argued that a great many of these goals could have been attained under an independent republic, the elite entertained no illusion that free trade would probably cease immediately upon the grant of independence.

IV

I have come to the end of my assignment. The Commission Era presented a challenge to Philippine nationalism that was different from the frontal and brutal assault during the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War. But it was a challenge that was no less dangerous to Philippine nationalism; indeed, it almost obliterated the Filipinos' desire for independence. The Filipino elite of the period adjusted to the altered environment with an ambivalence that confused both their followers and adversaries. Happily, future events came to their rescue and rehabilitated their posture as the leaders in the Filipino nationalist movement.

THE INFANT REPUBLIC *

By Vicente Albano Pacis

In a way, the Republic of the Philippines had a less auspicious start than had the Malolos Republic. While the Malolos Republic was organized during the interregnum after Spain had been defeated, and the United States was still developing an appetite for empire and tolerated its emergence, the Philippine Republic rose nearly stillborn from the ashes of an almost totally destructive war and a psychologically wrenching and disrupting enemy occupation.

But this contrast described only the circumstances of their respective births. For while, after the Treaty of Paris had been signed on December 10, 1898, the American forces in the Philippines turned around and annihilated the Malolos Republic, in 1946, the United States gave us independence and sponsored the establishment of the Philippine Republic. Thus it may be said that America redeemed herself from its army's ruthless treatment of the Malolos Republic by its generous sponsorship of the Philippine Republic.

Even so, the path of the Philippine Republic from the start up to the present has been uphill all the way. Its life has been as much a struggle for survival as serious if not more serious than had been the case in any of the many crises which, since Lapulapu, had threatened the life and the existence of the Filipinos. The Republic's struggle has been, however, different in an important way from the previous historical struggles of the people. While before 1946 the country was a colony under various forms of control and restriction, after 1946 it has been free of foreign domination, and has become the captain of its own ship, the master of its own destiny. This difference has, in some ways, been a decided advantage.

In this seminar, there is, as you know, a frame of reference within which the discussion must be confined, a mandate somewhat as cramping as colonial rule but which is necessary if the whole undertaking has to have coherence and direction. The triangular frame is composed of the following directives: (1) the development of Philippine nationalism since 1872, (2) the relation of historic events with the New Society, and (3) the historical rationale for the Social Order. Although these three guides are intended to delimit our historical forays, the second and the third seem flexible enough so that trespassing them may not be so severe nor so visible an offense. At least I hope so.

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*Paper read at the 1973 Annual Seminar on History of the Philippine Historical Association held at the National Library Auditorium, Manila, on December 2, 1973.

Within this frame and my assigned historical segment — The Infant Republic, 1946-1972 — there is no room for the heroic struggle of the Republic to rehabilitate the people and the nation from the consequences of the war in the areas of government, economics, education, society, psychology, etc. It does not seem relevant to include the last great struggle between the newly-born Republic and the American Congress that made free trade, war damage payment and parity rights for Americans a package deal in 1946-1947. It does not appear pertinent to discuss the Huk revolt which nearly delivered this country to communism. It does not seem in order to recall the anarchy of the elections and the use and misuse of government powers. I mention these matters in passing, however, simply to establish the historical context of other survival efforts of the Republic. What is called for first seems to be the nationalistic struggle after independence.

NATIONALISM

While before 1946, the thrust of Philippine nationalism had been to wrest and wring individual rights, political autonomy and independence from the successive colonizing powers that had imposed the umbrellas of their sovereignty over our country, since 1946 Philippine nationalism has taken the direction of establishing for ourselves a national and international identity. This is both natural and understandable. Some of the things that we have attempted to do or did do to foster this identity have, in my humble opinion, often been unthinking and sometimes unwise.

The initial form of the new nationalism was, naturally enough, an attempt to dissociate and disidentify the Philippines from the United States. If the purpose was to make our independence from America acquire greater visibility and credibility, it was justifiable. But in many ways it assumed the form of indiscriminate anti-Americanism, and this was, of course, unwise and self-defeating, somewhat akin to cutting our own nose to spite our face. It should be mentioned that at least part of the reason for this otherwise strange course was the proddings and provocations that the communists directed at us, not just to make us uncomfortable but also to hit their main enemy, the United States, through us.

In international conferences including those of the United Nations, for instance, it was the habit of communist delegates, who could not put us in their pocket as they did with so many other small nations, to taunt us with remarks such as "American lackey," "Tail of the American dog," and similar insults in the fabrication of which they are undisputed masters. And hypersensitive as we were in the salad days of our independence, our knee-jerk reaction was usually to intensify further our anti-Americanism.

Not only do we see most of what America has tried to do in our country in recent years, whether to bring much-needed capital, or to comply with her obligations under our mutual defense treaties, or to assist our agricultural industries, as acts of American imperialism, but we have also thoughtlessly and systematically divested ourselves of some of the most substantial American contributions to our national progress and development.

To mention just three casualties of our reflex-action anti-Americanism: one is our attempt to shoulder out English in our schools, our government and our business; the second is the law that transferred our Independence Day from July 4 to June 12; and third is the recent switch we have made through the new Constitution from the presidential to the parliamentary form of government.

It is of record that when the 1935 Constitution was adopted, some 70 percent of Filipinos, including all those who had been to organized schools, spoke and wrote English. But in the guise of developing a national language, Tagalog was imposed by a provision of the Constitution. As it was known that the insertion of the provision was somewhat lacking in good faith and Tagalog divided the people for not being a true national language, the 1971 Constitutional Convention approved a constitutional provision directing the National Assembly to "take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino." But again, there is a joker in the Constitution, for Tagalog known as Pilipino is declared an official language together with English. The faithful implementation of these two contradictory constitutional provisions will pose a dilemma which will further divide the people. Although English is retained as an official language, the campaign to foist Pilipino as native and to present English as foreign tends to create prejudice against English so dismaying that English is being effectively neglected to the point of being ostracized. This prejudice has already inflicted irreparable damage to our educational effort.

One reason cited for the adoption of Pilipino was to establish an identity separate from America and harmonize our nationalism with that of other Asian countries that were developing their respective native languages. India, for instance, was promoting Hindi and Pakistan, Urdu. But the language positions of these and other Asian countries were very different from ours. Under the elitist British educational system, relatively few natives learned English so that by allowing this language to die they were not losing much. Even so, there have been language riots in India, and Pakistan lost East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, partly because of the slight to its own language which is Bengali.

In contrast, the American mass-oriented educational system enabled more Filipinos than those of any single language group to acquire English. Since our civilization and culture reached their highest development through the medium of Spanish and English, which are modern languages with very extensive literatures, cramming those developed civilizations, and cultures into the limited dimensions of Pilipino is like transfering a cavan of rice from a jute sack to a paper grocery bag with a capacity of only two or three gantas.

Partaking of the same anti-American inspiration is the transfer of Philippine Independence Day from July 4 to June 12. July 4 as Philippine Independence Day was fixed by the American Congress and coincides with the American Independence Day. It was American in origin and sentiment and therefore a natural target for our anti-Americanism.

One of the arguments given—unwittingly because it is American—is that the American Declaration of Independence dated July 4, 1776, does not coincide with either the opening of the Continental Congress or the start of the Confederation, or even the inauguration of the American Republic, hence our own Independence Day need not be on the same day that the Philippine Republic was born. But it was more orderly when they coincided before the change of date. At least, Filipinos immediately knew how old their independence and their Republic were, whereas today they are confused and many believe both began in 1898. Even some of the newspapers make this mistake.

But, in fact, the Declaration of Independence of June 12, 1898 was the act of a Dictatorship, as Aguinaldo candidly called his government, but it gratuitously pretended to speak for all the inhabitants of the country. It says: "... we proclaim and solemnly declare, in the **name and by authority of the inhabitants of all these islands** that they are and have the right to be free and independent; that they be free from all obedience to the crown of Spain." In contrast, the American Declaration of Independence was a duly-approved act of the American Continental Congress.

The worst aspect of the Dictatorship's declaration is that, while it declares the independence of the Philippines from Spain, it also declares as emphatically Philippine dependence upon the United States, a fact the anti-Americans seemed to have overlooked. Indeed, it lumps America with no less than the Almighty. Grandiloquently it announces: "And summoning as witness of the honesty of our intentions the Supreme Judge of the Universe, and under the protection of the mighty and humanitarian nation, North America, we proclaim and solemnly declare," etc. Towards the end, the Declaration also explains the design and colors of the Philippine flag, and with respect to the colors, it states, "... and the colors blue, red and white, commemorate those of the flag of the United States of North America, in manifestation of our profound gratitude towards the great nation for the disinterested protection she is extending to us and will continue to extend to us."

And, hypocrisy aside, the Declaration is so poor in content and form that it is incapable of being immortalized. If it were a college exercise it would not rate a passing grade, for it lacks the three basic requirements of a good composition—unity, coherence and emphasis. The American Declaration's immortality owes much, in the words of authorities, to "the timelessness of its doctrines and the haunting beauty of its phrasing." And in fact far more dramatic, eloquent and timely than the masterpiece of Don Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista was the bold act of Andres Bonifacio and his associates of tearing up their cedulas in Caloocan to signal their final repudiation of their allegiance to Spain; and, more to the point since Philippine independence actually came from the United States and not from Spain, Speaker Osmeña's declaration of independence from America at the closing of the first session of the historic popular Philippine Assembly of 1907-1916.

It is hoped that more sober legislators will clear this historic confusion by returning Philippine Independence to its exact and true date of July 4.

In the political and governmental area, it was natural that America, which developed the presidential system, should wean us on the same system. Having revolted against England and established its independence, the United States also revolted against the parliamentary form of government developed by England. We adopted the presidential form as our own in the 1935 Constitutional Convention without any compulsion. While it is true that the form is not without room for improvement, its discarding by us seems more a part of our anti-Americanism than the result of our honest search for a governmental form adapted to our idiosyncrasies. For it is in fact the judgment of those who know whereof they speak that, outside of England and the British settled former colonies—Canada, Austtralia and New Zealand—the parliamentary system has not worked so well. Proofs of this are the adoption by France of the presidential system in 1960, after a long traumatic experience with the parliamentary system, and the still continuing difficulties with the latter system of Italy, Finland, and the Scandinavian countries. Their governments are falling so frequently that they cannot accomplish anything of substance. We shall therefore need plenty of good luck to succeed with the parliamentary system.

Fortunately the national direction taken by the Republic is not all negative. Identifying ourselves with our fellow-Asian nations, especially with those of Southeast Asia, is a positive step. Our neighbors in Asia are not only our racial brothers, but there are also many areas of common interest with them. These include defense, trade and commerce, and ideology. Learning from the European Economic Community, we are moving with them towards closer relations and cooperation. The ASEAN is becoming the means by which our common interests are being solidified and protected.

The perpetual neutralization of the region is one of the ASEAN's most important objectives. By the accident of geography, this region is next-door to one of the two major citadels of world communism which are actively encouraging and supporting wars of liberation. There is not a single country in the region, including the Philippines, which has not had to contend with an insurrectionary movement advised and financed by Peking. Only by uniting our defensive means and capacities can we have a good chance to survive this menace. As among the countries in the region there are at least four — South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan and the Philippines — that have mutual defense treaties with the United States, it appears that America is a friend rather than a foe. Incidentally, the official language of the ASEAN is English.

We are somewhat mixed up as some other members of the ASEAN are in our relations with Japan. The Philippines has not yet ratified the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation negotiated with Japan some thirteen years ago, yet, meanwhile, Japan has already become our trading partner rivaling the United States. But the ASEAN finds it increasingly inescapable to define its relations with Japan. This is so because Japan, after all, is the No. 1 industrial nation in Asia and the third in the world. It is bound to exert great influence not only economically but, in the long run, also militarily. Only with its active assistance may it be possible to blunt the thrust of communism, especially if the United States is withdrawing, as many Americans advocate, from west of Guam, just as Britain is withdrawing from east of Suez.

Under the leadership of the First Lady, Philippine cultural development under the New Society is being wisely directed. While native music, the native theater and native customs are being encouraged, she is importing a steady series of foreign performers. The blend is ideal. We should not deny that we have much to learn from others, and the frequent appearances of great foreign singers, dancers, and instrumentalists in the country tend to stimulate the development of the corresponding native arts towards excellence. One of our native composers seems to have misundertood this when he advocated the banning of foreign music. There are others who would ban foreign movies and foreign books. While we should take pride in our native culture, we should recognize the fact that interculture borrowing is the best path to progress.

HISTORIC EVENTS AND NEW SOCIETY

Historic events and developments, remote and recent, conspired to make the martial law government inescapable, and the martial law regime is making possible the restructuring of Philippine society into what the President calls the New Society.

Under the Malolos Constitution, which was hardly implemented because of the Philippine-American War, and the McKinley Instructions, the Cooper and Jones Acts, and the 1935 Constitution, the Filipino people existed in a right-oriented society. All the emphasis was on the possession of individual rights and the need for exercising them. There was hardly any balancing attempt to make the people equally aware of their responsibilities. The result was an anarchy of rights: in the exercise of the freedom of speech, press and assembly, the radio commentator who could hurl the most insults, the newspaper columnist who could summon the most vicious and most abusive prose, the activist who could formulate the most scurrilous posters were considered very smart.

The work of education, which was intended to improve democracy by enabling the people to form an intelligent public opinion on public questions and public men, led instead to crass materialism and greed. This was because of the popular misconception that education was solely a means of improving the material and social condition of the individual. It was abetted by the superficiality of education in general. Materialism and greed became the ruling passion of the products of the schools who went into government and politics, business and the professions. Inescapably, many businessmen became corruptors, many politicians became grafters, and many professionals enriched themselves unduly, contrary to the ethics of their professions. The way to public office was through crooked elections, the reward of public office was ill-gotten wealth through graft and corruption, and the way to business profit was to corrupt public officials for illegal government favors. And the way to win crooked elections and reap the reward of ill-gotten wealth was to be a warlord politician with an army of goons. This anarchy of implacable and insatiable greed gave rise to activists, dissidents and rebels, and communism sought to ride on their back. This, in brief, is the genesis of violence and rebellion that eventually necessitated, first, the suspension of the privilege of habeas corpus and, later, the proclamation of a state of martial law.

In placing the country under martial law, the President evidently believes that defeating the dissidents and the rebels in a trial of arms would only be a temporary palliative, that the restructuring of society was necessary if restored peace and order and the honest benefits accruing from them, are to be lasting if not permanent.

Fortunately, there is a provision of the new Constitution that will be helpful in this task. I refer to Article V entitled "Duties and Obligations of Citizens." Composed of three sections, this article marks the primary duties of citizens and emphasizes that rights create obligations which citizens must observe and honor. Among the duties of the citizens the article enumerates are to be loyal to the Republic, to honor the flag, to uphold the constitution, to defend the state, to cooperate with the duly constituted authorities in the attainment and preservation of a just and orderly society, and to engage in gainful work. Citizens' obligations are to exercise individual rights with a sense of responsibility and with due respect for the rights of others, and, if qualified, to vote in elections.

How long does it take to build a New Society so that it may be lasting if not permanent? The President seems to have indicated his thinking on this subject when, in a speech he made in Malacañang before the sixth general convention of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, he declared that he was determined "to push through his administration's program of reforms until the centuries-old dreams and aspirations of the Filipino people are realized," and "it was his moral obligation as President to see through all the reforms," and "'I would rather die than see them discontinued.'" Calling his reform program "a democratic and peaceful revolution," he said it consisted of eliminating all the vices of the old society. He claimed that some of the fruits of reform were "increased investments and inflow of technical talent, increased production and foreign exchange, and the establishment of new industries." (**Times Journal**, Nov. 24, 1973).

HISTORICAL RATIONALE FOR THE SOCIAL ORDER

The social order is either that which is imposed from above or that which is the expression of the national psyche. The imposed social order carries its own rationale. The existing regime, for instance, rationalizes its reform program as one of uprooting the social evils of the past and replacing them with the objectives of the reform program. The President himself told a group of Hongkong newspaper executives recently that his administration has introduced seven major reforms under martial law.

"I proclaimed martial law," he began "not to maintain the status quo, not to continue with the inequalities, the injustices and the corruption prevailing, but to dismantle the apparatus of rebellion and effect changes and reforms" as follows:

1. Peace and order, including the speeding up of the judicial process by purging the judiciary of the dishonest and by setting up **Sandiganbayan**, a special graft court, and **Tanodbayan**, a complaint office modelled after the famed Ombudsman of Swedish origin, both provided in the Constitution.

2. Land reform, which he called the "foundation reform" of Philippine society.

3. Labor reform to insure the workingmen's fair share of the fruits of the economy, including the minimum wage and increased production.

4. Economic reforms, including monetary, whose immediate aims are to maintain socialized pricing of 15 basic commodities, the attraction of foreign capital, incentives for investment, removal of visa requirements, and the establishment of multinational corporations.

5. Educational reform to make education relevant to economic development to be partly attained through the entrance examinations for college.

6. Social services, including medical, housing, and the resettlement of people, ecological protection and employment through the encouragement and dispersion to the provinces of medium and small industries.

7. Political reorganization, including the weeding out from the government of the dishonest, undesirable or unnecessary employees and the reduction of the voting age to 15.

In the political field, the President envisioned elections of candidates for office who would not spend their own money but would be given equal space and equal time in the mass media. He added that the enlarged electorate not only broadens the base of public opinion but can demand the removal of any public servant including the President himself.

In a society which develops freely but guided by education, government and public opinion, the trends are mixed and confused to begin with. If, however, education truly educates the people to think and reason, if public opinion is well-informed and vigilant, and if government guidance is enlightened, the best of the trends are expected to prevail, and the rest are doomed to wither away. The country's failure to obtain this kind of result is evident in the crooked elections, the rampant graft and corruption, the general dishonesty in business, the increase of crime leading to public violence, dissidence and rebellion.

These adverse results can only be attributed to the failure of education, public opinion and government.

At this point in time, Philippine society is at the cross-road. It may be doomed to prolonged regimentation unless it can prove that it deserves freedom. Only time will give the answer.

CONCLUSION

Before 1946, Philippine nationalism had an ultimate clearcut objective — the liberation of the country from colonial bondage. After 1946, this objective ceased to be relevant, and Philippine nationalism had to search for new goals. It is natural that it should seek to establish an independent and, if possible, indigenous identity, but, in our choice of means to this end, we have not always been wise and foresighted.

The society that we had managed to develop as colonials and as citizens of an independent and sovereign Republic having been dishonest, greedy and violent, it courted the imposition of an authoritarian but constitutional regime that created the opportunity to restructure that society. This is a task that needs time, and whether it can continue with reasonable effectiveness and success without martial law is the dilemma that may have to be faced sooner or later.

We had developed our dishonest, greedy and violent society as a consequence of our deteriorated education, our weak and spotty public opinion that exists only in the few urbanized areas of the country, and our crooked politics and graft-ridden government. This discredited society itself furnishes the historical rationale for the New Society.

AMERICA'S COLONIAL DESK AND THE PHILIPPINES, 1898-1934 *

By Romeo V. Cruz

I. Introduction

Between Spain and America the Philippines was successively governed as a colony for three hundred and eighty-one years (1565-1946). During this period of colonial rule, the two imperial powers exhibited analogous imperialistic behavioral patterns toward their daughter colony. Essentially the same basic drives propelled both powers to acquire the Philippines. Deserved or not, each country, in the process of colonization, earned the reputation of being an empire "with a conscience."

The impulse that led to the conquest of the Philippines by both nations in turn provided the rationale for, and shaped the philosophy of, a colonial relationship revolving around the concept of stewardship in response to the psychological needs of justifying their actions before their own people and cushioning the impact of imperialism on the subject people. Each also entrusted the implementation of this philosophy to insular proconsuls and a home-based administrative apparatus in order to maintain a closer link with the colony and the efficient governing of its people.

This brief reference to similar patterns of Spanish and American imperialism does not exhaust the list, neither does it attempt to make an equation. On the contrary, glaring differences should be mentioned. The two imperial powers differed in their "style" of imperialism. Spain, in her quixotic way, placed an accent on religious evangelism. The American phase, on the other hand, was undertaken with an apparent lack of **raison d'etre** or **guidepost.**

Differing in emphasis, it is not surprising that the two imperial powers had also different conceptions of the philosophy of stewardship which should govern the relationship between mother country and daughter colony. Spain, as well as America later on, used a sociological device—the family—as an analogy to describe the relationship. The mother image was the most effective tool used by Spain without however the logic that such an image called for. The relationship between siblings was in turn America's device. The Filipino became the "little brown brother," American the "big white brother."

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The similarity in the means used to supervise the affairs of the colony was more apparent than real. The **Consejo de las Indias**, later on the Overseas Ministry, was theoretically a very powerful body representing the "royal person" of the Spanish monarchy. On the other hand, the American "colonial office" was never acknowledged as such by official Washington. The American position on this matter might be illustrated by W. Cameron Forbes's stand on the issue of establishing a separate department for overseas possessions. Forbes advocated the creation of a "Department of Administration" and rejected the use of the phrase "Colonial Department" to designate such an agency because it was "objectionable and inaccurate."

Within the context of the Spanish authoritative and discriminatory imperial scheme a colonial office organized within its framework would definitely be different from that organized within the American liberal and democratic system. In the Spanish sense, therefore, America had no colonial office. Yet America did establish what served as her colonial desk — the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) in the War Department. The goal we want to accomplish in this paper is to know the role played by the BIA in relation to the Philippines as an American dependency specifically during the period 1898-1934.

II. Establishment of the Bureau of Insular Affairs

The acquisition of a far-off dependency was indeed a revolutionary departure from the American system of territorial expansion. Therefore, immediately upon the acquisition of the former Spanish possessions, certain questions arose: What agency should govern the new territories? How should these territories be governed? What was the legal status of the new territories with respect to continental America and the American system? What would be the legal status of the inhabitants of the said territories?

These questions came about because the United States was poorly organized to take care of colonies and her constitution did and does not make any provision regarding possession or maintenance of colonies. The American system, however, showed flexibility and capacity for adjustment according to the exigencies of the situation. Officially, the first to meet the challenge poised by the legal issues connected with the dependencies was the United States Supreme Court in the famous Insular Cases in 1900 and 1901. The decisions marked a milestone in American judicial history. In the "Fourteen Diamond Rings" case and De Lima vs. Bidwell, the Supreme Court decided that American tariff laws did not apply to products coming from the dependencies which were not foreign territories within the meaning of the Constitution. In Downes vs. Bidwell congressional enactments for goods coming from Puerto Rico were rendered constitutional. In other words the Philippines was (1) to be governed by Congress, i.e., in matters of legislative policy and administration, and (2) an unincorporated territory as distinguished from incorporated territory. Flowing from (1) and (2) the inhabitants of the Philippines were considered neither citizens nor subjects of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, but citizens of the Philippines owing allegiance to the flag of the United States. Briefly, therefore, as Salvador P. Lopez has asserted, the Philippines was in a political twilight zone whereby she "was foreign to the United States for domestic purposes, but domestic for foreign purposes."[1]

On the question of setting up an agency to link the metropolitan government with the insular government, Congress was and is the sole constitutional body to establish this mechanism. This stems from Section 3, Article IV and Section 8, Article I of the United States Constitution. But while Congress was debating the Philippine issue and related problems, and while the Supreme Court was about to render its famous decisions, events were happening in bewildering rapidity.

The triggering factor that led to the creation of the BIA was the Cuban occupation. In Cuba the American army found itself assuming the not too familiar role of soldier-civil servants. The absence of any official agency in Washington which had experience in governing peoples and territories proved to be a handicap. Knowledge gained in the control of Indian Affairs or in the supervision of territorial government in continental United States proved of little value. Hence after the fall of Santiago, Cuba, in August, 1898, when non-military matters started swamping the War Department, especially those dealing with customs duties, nobody knew how to deal with them. At first the papers pertaining to customs revenues went to the Adjutant General for presentation to the Secretary of War. On August 23, 1898 the Secretary of War issued a directive referring matters relating to tariff duties and taxes to the Assistant Secretary for his consideration and report. The office of the chief clerk became the temporary depository of the non-military records. One or two clerks were later added.

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[1] "The Colonial Relationship," in The American Assembly, **The United States and the Philippines**, ed. Frank H. Golay (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 8.

The need for a separate office was felt as the volume of business increased and the time approached for the transfer of Cuba and the anticipated control of Puerto Rico by 1899. Thus on December 13, 1898 the acting Secretary of War, George Meiklejohn, ordered the creation of the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs. The new division was charged with all papers relating to the customs revenues as well as civil affairs of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines for final disposition. From 1898 to 1902 several changes took place. The first head of the division, Mr. Robert E. Parker, was replaced by Captain John J. Pershing on March 19, 1899. The latter continued to serve until, at his own request, he was transferred to the Philippine service six months later. A chief clerk of the division took over from August 29, 1899, to February 10, 1900 on which date Clarence R. Edwards, a member of General Henry Lawton's staff in the Philippines, took over as the new head. Previous to this date, the office of law officer was created in early 1899 with Charles E. Magoon, later Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, as the first to fill the office in order to assist the judge-advocate who was over-burdened with legal military matters. The changes in the office were not only in structure and personnel but also spatial.

As matters pertaining to customs collection became overshadowed by "insular affairs," Secretary Elihu Root who became head of the War Department in 1899, ordered on December 10, 1900 that the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs be charged with "all matters pertaining to the civil affairs connected with the governments of Cuba and the Philippine Islands, as distinguished from matters of a purely military character." A new name, Division of Insular Affairs, was also given to the office.

Because the "dyarchical" or dual government established in the Philippines demanded supervision and authority of one department, Secretary Root decided to place both sets of officials under the control of the office of the Secretary of War. In his letter to Secretary of State John Hay, a possible rival in the control of insular affairs, Root stated the difficulty of the Philippine arrangement. "Man," Root said, "both civil and military, is such a jealous and pernickety animal." The Secretary of War, however, hoped that the "unstable equilibrium" would be over and the whole Philippine business would be under civilian control according to the "nearest approach we can make to a Department of Colonial Affairs."

Though it might be true yet that Root wanted the division to be temporary, one could not help but cast doubt about his sincerity regarding the release of the Philippine administration from the department he headed. Several opportunities presented themselves to test Root's motives and rather than release the Philippines he strengthened the hold of his department over the government of the Islands. First, there was the instructions of McKinley to the Schurman Commission on January 20, 1899 to report directly to Secretary John Hay their findings and recommendations regarding Philippine conditions. This implied that McKinley had wanted a colonial office in the State Department. In addition to McKinley's letter to Hay expressing intention to organize a bureau of insular affairs under the State Department, there was also the testimony of Hay regarding McKinley's approval of the final plans to set up the new office. All these clearly showed that the president was willing to push the plan through. He even had in mind the appointment of Charles H. Allen, governor of Puerto Rico, director or head of the colonial bureau. Root, rather than follow his chief, continued his "temporary arrangement." This became clear when, under his auspices, the Second Philippine Commission headed by William Howard Taft, instead of reporting to Hay like the Schurman Commission, was directed to report to the War Department. The so-called McKinley instructions of April 7, 1900 to the Taft Commission were authored by Root. The fact that this "state paper" gave Root veto power over the acts of the Philippine Commission, might as well be considered the first legal basis for the Division of Insular Affairs. Root thus succeeded in transforming the Division of Insular Affairs into the United States's colonial office under him and Edwards. From the intra-departmental point of view, it seemed that the astute Secretary of War was one jump ahead of the president and Secretary Hay.

Likewise, another opportunity to make good Hay's intention to organize a colonial department or to place the insular dependencies under the State Department came in 1901 when Filipino armed resistance was reduced to a minimum with the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo. Nothing was done although Root was in a position to manipulate the executive policy in like manner that he manipulated that policy with his shrewd move in 1900. Instead he drafted, together with Taft, the Philippine Autonomy Act (Cooper Act) which Congress passed on July 1, 1902.

The Philippine Autonomy Act of 1902 was a Root legal masterpiece. He succeeded in making Congress ratify all actions of the President in the organization of the Philippine government and, most importantly, in giving official recognition to the Division of Insular Affairs, which was assigned "all matters pertaining to civil government in the island possessions of the United States subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department. . . ."

By this act, therefore, the division, now called the Bureau of Insular Affairs, was given legal status as a virtual colonial desk despite its lack of well-defined powers. From another angle it seemed that the bureau as shaped by Root and Edwards was organized in anticipation of the eventuality that it would become a central office charged with administering the affairs of non-contiguous territories. This was never realized but within the short-range objectives of Elihu Root, the BIA had served its purpose. Throughout its existence, the administration of the civil government of the Philippines was the only function exercised continuously by this office. Indeed, it became America's version of a colonial desk.

The wonder was not that the BIA, functioning as a "civilian office," remained in the War Department for so long, but that this state of affairs was allowed to last for more than thirty years when the rationale of the early years was no longer valid. American apathy might be one explanation for the perpetuation of the BIA. The office was ambiguous in character and its authority remained ill-defined throughout its lifetime. There was also an absence of precise definition of the relations between the Philippine insular government and the bureau, which produced some unfortunate results. Yet amazingly enough, the BIA was continued under the so-called Jones Law of 1916. The Law did not include any provision for the Bureau of Insular Affairs. In keeping with the temper of Congress and the spirit of the Law it passed, the absence of any direct provision could have meant the end of the bureau. But the bureau displayed an inner strength. Just as the Republicans gave the bureau legislative sanction, so the Democrats bestowed upon it their executive approval. By order of President Woodrow Wilson all reports from the government of the Philippines, and all matters pertaining to the same, were placed under the BIA.

Threats to the bureau's life continued but under the Republican administration, it functioned and assumed responsibilities according to the discretion of the Secretary of War and the chief of the bureau. But by the early 1930's the bureau's days were numbered. Under the predominantly Democratic Congress, resolutions were passed in 1930 and 1931 directing the president to reorganize the administration of insular affairs whenever he deemed public interest demanded such a change. Finally, Franklin D. Roosevelt directed the establishment of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of Interior and transferred the administration of the government of Puerto Rico from the War Department to the new division. This move gave the opening wedge for the removal of the administration of the Philippines from the War Department to a civilian department and from an army officer to a qualified civil servant. Added to this fact was the passage of the Philippine Independence Act in 1934. Thus no longer could the bureau substantially influence the destiny of the Islands, which it had done in the past. It thus lost the major parts of its jurisdiction.

III. Organization and Personnel

The Bureau of Insular Affairs, before it became such, had the following branches: Correspondence, Records, Accounting and Statistics, Compilation and Translation, Law Officer and Chief of the Division. Due to increasing volume of work an assistant chief drawn from the army rank was added. Two more branches were added in 1902: the Map branch and the Philippine Insurgent Records branch. With slight changes like adding two or three more assistant posts to the chief of the Bureau and the addition of another branch, the Purchasing and Disbursing division to which the Philippine Purchasing agency was attached with office in New York, the Bureau of Insular Affairs retained the organizational framework it had since 1900.

Many members of the staff were civilians especially those occupying the subordinate positions. The headship of the various branches was under a mixed group of civilians and army men. The three key positions were chief, assistant chief, and law officer. Civilians of course occupied the post of law officer. This post, so far as known to this writer, was occupied by five individuals for about twenty years with an average tenure of four years: Charles E. Magoon, Paul Charlton, Felix Frankfurter, Louis W. Call, and William W. Lemmond.

Military men, however, headed the bureau as chief and assistant chief. They were naturally in a position to influence the course of insular affairs more than any civilian in the office with the singular exception of their superior, the secretary of war. Nevertheless the superiority of the military over the civilian in matters of influencing policy was maintained throughout the lifetime of the bureau. One reason for this was the longer tenure of office of the military as compared with that of the civilian secretaries. From 1898 to 1939, for instance, there were thirteen secretaries of war (Elihu Root, William H. Taft, Luke E. Wright, Jacob M. Dickinson, Henry L. Stimson, Lindley M. Garrison, Newton D. Baker, John W. Weeks, Dwight F. Davis, James W. Good, Patrick H. Hurley, George H. Dern, and Harry H. Woodring) as compared with only eight heads of the bureau (Robert E. Parker, John J. Pershing, Alexander Speel, Clarence R. Edwards, Frank McIntyre, Francis LeJau Parker, Greed F. Cox, and Charles Burnett). The first three served for a few months and therefore quite negligible. Parker served in an acting capacity for less than three months, Pershing for less than five, and Speel, again in an acting capacity, for less than six. From 1900 to 1939 army men (e.g., Edwards) headed the bureau with an average tenure of seven years and eight months.

Of the bureau heads, the combined "reign" of two men amounted to twenty-nine years — Clarence R. Ewards, whose tenure started in 1900 and ended in 1912; and Frank McIntyre who, except for brief intervals, held that office from 1912 to 1929. With this fact continuity of colonial policies was assured irrespective of the political color of the secretaries. Another reason was the fact that the secretary, being a political appointee, was usually inexperienced and uninformed about colonial affairs. The chief of the bureau, being protected by a built-in system like the institution of "tour of duty" which assured him tenure for four years — during McIntyre's time it was waived — was the very opposite of the secretary because of the nature of his position. The chief of the bureau in general could easily become an expert in the business of his office while the man who occupied the secretaryship had his attention and energy diffused by the multifarious affairs of his department. Being knowledgeable about insular conditions, what actually happened was that the Secretary of War usually followed the chief's advice and opinion given verbally or in the form of memoranda. One illustration would suffice for our purpose. In 1930 when Congress was almost littered with independence bills for the Philippines, Secretary Patrick J. Hurley sent Hiram Bingham, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, a letter defining the position of the War Department on the question. Although it was possible that Secretary Hurley had his own stand on the independence issue, nevertheless this letter was a shorter version, and in some parts, a word for word repetition of General Francis LeJau Parker's memorandum on the matter.

There were certain remarkable individuals in the bureau that merited our attention because of their influence, in one way or another, on colonial policies. Of the chiefs of the bureau, at least two deserved special mention: Edwards and McIntyre. The former who came to be called "our Colonial Secretary" had a reputation of being a skillful organizer. Born in Ohio, but lived most of his life in Massachusetts, Edwards had a distinguished military record. His appointment as chief of the bureau, if we believe Law Officer Felix Frankfurter's insinuation, might have been due to the fact that Mrs. Edwards "was a great friend of Secretary Root." Edward's promotion from lieutenant colonel to major general while serving as chief of the bureau, if one could use this as a yardstick, was a testimony to his organizing skill. At any rate he was credited with having done an unusually fine work in organizing America's island possessions. Shortly before he died in 1931, he pointed to two things that he considered his greatest achievements in the bureau: the sale of bonds which enabled the Philippine government under the Philippine Commission to purchase the friar lands and the gigantic tasks undertaken by his office in preparing the Philippine exhibits in the St. Louis World Fair.

The Alabaman Frank McIntyre initially started as assistant chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in 1905. Retiring at the age of 64 years in 1929, McIntyre was probably the most experienced American colonial administrator of his time. His knowledge about the Philippine administration was so invaluable that Secretary of State Stimson appointed him resident trade commissioner of the Philippine Islands. Frankfurter had a pleasant memory about McIntyre with whom his relationship was "intimate and happy." The law officer, later Mr. Justice Frankfurter, was lavish in his praise of the then deputy chief McIntyre as "a very scholarly soldier" who devised the currency system of the Philippines.

Two legal officers seemed to have left their permanent marks in the Bureau. These were Charles E. Magoon and Felix Frankfurter. For Magoon the post was a stepping-stone to higher positions like governor of the Panama Canal Zone and provisional governor of Cuba. As law officer, he anticipated the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Insular Cases, and became Secretary Root's chief law adviser. Actually Magoon's legal briefs served as bases of the Supreme Court's decisions rationalizing American imperialism. The many tasks Frankfurter did as Secretary Stimson's "junior partner" when the latter became the head of the War Department need not detain us. What marked him off as a budding statesman was the memorandum he prepared for Secretary Lindley M. Garrison on April 11, 1913. About that memorandum, Frankfurter had this to say:

The background for the memorandum was the political crisis in the Philippines during the administration of W. Cameron Forbes, grandson of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Philippine Assembly, the lower house of the legislature, and the Philippine Commission, the upper house, had a bitter fight over issues involving appropriations and the appointment of the resident commissioners. Most likely Frankfurter had all these incidents in mind when he prepared his memorandum. He recommended the appointment of a man of constructive leadership who enjoyed the President's confidence. The new appointee would announce to the Filipinos the purpose of the United States. The Philippine Assembly should then be asked to recomend six men for appointment to the commission. This was a political strategy aimed at meeting the demands of the Philippine Assembly for increased autonomy without congressional action. Significantly the Frankfurter Memorandum became the initial policy of the Wilson administration in the Philippines and to a certain extent, too, anticipated the scheme of government set up in the Jones Law of 1916.

IV. Functions of the Bureau

As a link in the chain of colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines, there grew in the bureau a twofold responsibility. First, since Congress was the supreme final authority, the bureau was "answerable" to it for peace and order and good harmonious government in the Philippines. Regarding this aspect of its responsibility, the bureau "represented" the interests of the insular government. It saw to it that the Philippines got a fair deal in its relations with the mother country. It had to justify before the President and Congress the way in which the Islands were governed. And second, the bureau had the responsibility of conveying decisions arrived at through congressional and presidential initiative. In turn these decisions were justified to the government and people of the Philippines.

The discharge of these responsibilities depended upon the bureau's idea of stewardship. Statements about this concept were found in the reports of the chief of the BIA. From them we gathered that the philosophy was based on the assumption that the whites were superior and the "natives" inferior. The incapacity of the natives and the superiority of the whites were the principal articles of faith almost approximating a religion. The philosophy had two aspects: firstly, Americans must uplift, educate, and civilize the Filipinos whether the latter liked it or not and, second, the Filipinos for their part should follow without question the American guidance because it would lead to their "mutual good." As to the question of who would terminate the trusteeship, the answer was obvious — the Americans — since logically they were in a position as guardians to know if the ward had progressed.

Translating this philosophy into policy and the policy into action was the responsibility of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. For our purpose let us divide the bureau's functions into two categories: first, those which dealt with the ordinary routine in the operation of any government office; and, second, those which had to do with policies — either formulating, altering or modifying them.

The first category could be sub-divided into paper-work and manual-work. The first dealt with the type of operation inherent in the bureau as repository of records relating to the Philippines. It prepared and submitted to the Secretary of War such information regarding the Philippines as Congress required. The bureau also compiled and sometimes published information and data for the consumption of the curious and the curiously interested who ranged from traders to teachers and to other job-seekers. It also acted as a pipeline for the insular government through which teachers like the so-called "Thomasites" and other employees were procured and transported to the Philippines. In the early years of its operation, the bureau (then the DIA) was responsible for sending men who established the currency system, the tariff system, and the auditing and accounting systems of the Philippines. In short it laid down the framework of the Philippine government. It made the necessary arrangements for the education of the Filipino **pensionados** who were sent to study in the United States. Other valuable and varied services of the bureau were the advantageous sale of short-term notes of the Philippines for the purchase of silver bullion, the minting of the currency, and the engraving and printing of the Philippine paper money. Either alone or with the Secretary of War, visits to the Philippines were made by the chief of the bureau for a great variety of reasons. There was for instance the visit made by Secretary of War Dickinson and Edwards in 1910 to gain first-hand knowledge resulting from personal contact and observation in order to furnish " the basis for a more perfect understanding and better handling of the problems" connected with the Philippines. There were instances when inspection trips were made to refute congressmen who wanted " to get rid" of the archipelago and thus to "shirk" American responsibility and obligation toward its people. Such were the visits made by McIntyre in 1915 and again in 1920.

It was more in the performance of the second category of functions that the bureau influenced the course of Philippine national development. One outstanding illustration was the memorandum prepared by Frankfurter which as we have seen at least became the basis of, or at most, the actual Wilson-Harrison policy toward the Philippines. This of course would not rule out the fact that the policy was the result of an independent but analogous conviction of both President Woodrow Wilson and Governor-General Francis B. Harrison. At any rate it seemed it was no mere coincidence that the general outline of Frankfurter's memorandum was followed in the Jones Law.

In general while the bureau remained in a position to control Philippine affairs, it followed the Root-Taft policy and implemented it according to expediencies. Politically, the policy meant gradual assumption of Filipino responsibility in the government through " slow Filipinization." In the field of commerce, the policy had for its goal free trade between the United States and the Philippines. In education, the objective of the policy was free, compulsory and universal education. These, of course, were not the only areas encompassed by the Root-Taft policy but they were enough to demonstrate the bureau's consistent adherence to it.

As a policy-making body, the most important work of the bureau had been to prepare legislation for congressional deliberation. It was in this capacity that McIntyre greatly influenced the policy of the Democratic administration in the Islands. Considering also that Wilson was not so concerned and familiar with Philippine affairs, he had to lean heavily on the War Department, or more directly, on McIntyre for general policy and details of administration. During the same period it was not uncommon to see McIntyre busy being consulted by congressmen, especially Representative William S. Jones of Virginia who wanted, in preparing his measure, to know the attitude of the BIA.

Corollary to this function was the task of preventing Congress from passing legislation which would be applicable to American conditions but most impractical to the Philippine situation. This was the case when in 1902 an attempt was made by Congress to incorporate the coastwise laws as a provision of the Philippine Autonomy Act of that year. To a certain extent the opposition of the bureau led to postponement and finally abandonment of these laws which would have meant the establishment of American shipping monopoly in the Philippines. The consistency of the bureau's adherence to its concept of responsibility to the Filipinos led one author to mistake its conduct as a display of "a certain ambivalence" especially during the time of McIntyre. The same author maintained that McIntyre was "the closest Washington came to having a permanent undersecretary for colonial affairs." He should not be puzzled over the so-called ambivalence of McIntyre because in consonance with the latter's conception of his two-fold responsibility, the goal to be achieved politically was harmony and good government in the Philippines. Thus when a political crisis rocked the Forbes administration, McIntyre went out of his way in assisting Representative Jones in the latter's bill which later became law in 1916 granting increased autonomy (and as implemented by Harrison, rapid Filipinization) to the Filipinos. Yet, at the same time the chief of the bureau would not extend himself far enough to follow the logic of the law, many provisions of which he wrote — independence. Hence McIntyre would rather have no law than adopt the Clarke Amendment to the Jones Law. This amendment would have granted independence to the Philippines in not less than two and not more than four years after the Jones bill passed Congress. Again, McIntyre displayed the same puzzling behavior when, through a letter transmitted by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, he warned Governor Harrison not to let the Filipinos encroach on the jurisdiction of the executive. This "ambivalence" was nothing but consistency on the part of McIntyre. As America's colonial secretary he had to achieve the goal of his office with respect to the insular affairs — harmony, stability, and balance between the American and Filipino components of the insular government. Failure on his part made him "answerable" to Congress, which exercised the final authority over the insular possessions. The behavior called for by this concept of trusteeship was nowhere more illustrated than in the tension between the Filipino leaders and Governor General Wood (1921-1927). On the one hand, McIntyre supported Wood in his conflict with the Filipinos. He showed this support by defending Wood's actions in public in order "to do justice to . . . General [Wood] without offending the Filipino leaders." When the Filipino leaders cabled the War Department on October 18, 1923 asking that as a prize for the restoration of good relations between themselves and the governor general, the preamble of the Jones Law should be made the guide to Wood's actions, McIntyre, in a memorandum which was tantamount to a reprimand, refuted the Filipino position point by point. On the other hand, McIntyre, in his letter to Stimson on June 26, 1926 expressed the wish that the latter should have gone out to the islands earlier and blamed Wood for the conflict.

In many other ways, in its zeal to make the insular administration a success and the insular people prosperous, the bureau sacrificed foresight for short-range benefits. This was illustrated by the bureau's attempts to steer a trade bill in Congress which would have inaugurated free trade before 1909 between America and the Philippines. When this materialized in 1909 and 1913, it created a situation of economic dependency which the bureau itself in the thirties, in the form of Chief Parker's memorandum already cited, gave as one of the reasons why independence would not be granted to the Philippines. The bureau justified free trade on the grounds that it would lead to more jobs and general prosperity. In line with its free trade program, the bureau encouraged American investments in the Philippines in the form of liberal land grants. Had these been enacted into laws, there would have been latifundia in the Philippines and further entrenchment of agricultural caciquism. Whether the motives were selfish or not, the bureau believed liberal land laws would mean greater economic progress.

In the field of education, the bureau exercised its authority to influence policy by being content to do little to encourage the administration to carry out recommendations from the Philippines, or even by total suppression. The last happened in 1909. The Philippine Commission recommended the passage of a law by Congress on compulsory elementary education. McIntyre who did not agree with Commission on certain aspects of educational policy, suppressed this for three years and when he finally made the recommendation, it was half-hearted. His reason was that to ask money from Congress would be to break the bureau's traditional policy of maintaining self-sufficiency in the fiscal administration of the Philippines.

V. Problems of the Bureau

The great responsibilities assumed by the bureau and the functions it performed, would elicit wonder not unmixed with pity. Pity because considering its responsibilities the bureau remained throughout its lifetime a small office — physically and organizationally. Together with the other offices of the War Department, the BIA shared the same over-crowded building — the Muncipial building. The only bureau supposedly dealing with non-military matters, it seemed misplaced and a squatter in that building.

Handicapped by lack of staff, constantly threatened with extinction from either Congress or the President, devoid of prestige or influence, the bureau yearly and pathetically asked Congress for for appropriations. It was impossible. At most Congress gave it a mere pittance. Accentuating the problem was the loss of experienced personnel due to the War (World War I), low salaries, deaths, and office-raiding. Problems of this nature could be seen in reports after reports of the chiefs of the bureau.

The problem of man-power was further aggravated by the fact that besides the Philippines, the bureau had other areas under its jurisdiction. Cuba was under it until the Republic was organized. In 1906 it was placed again under the bureau's supervision. The same was true of Puerto Rico. The BIA also directed and supervised the Haitian and Dominican Customs Receiverships. At one time or another, it was also asked to assist in the organization of the central office for the Panama Canal Zone. The bureau was even called upon for advice in the organization of customs services in Nicaragua, Liberia, and elsewhere.

Pressures from Congress and other problems were not the only ones which the bureau confronted. Filipinos also complained of some activities of the BIA. For example, the Philippine exhibits in the St. Louis Exposition were considered as attempts at publicity and misrepresentation of conditions in the Philippines. It was, a Filipino nationalist charged, a slander to the "the entire Filipino people." The action in sending the Igorots to the world fair inflicted a wound upon the pride and sensitivity of the Filipinos. The publicity which resulted therefrom, the nationalists feared, might lead to an association of ideas between the dog-eating Igorots and the Filipino capacity for self-government.

The Filipino nationalists as a group caused the BIA much irritation. Manuel L. Quezon was a case in point. As resident commissioner, Quezon delivered speeches in the House of Representatives on behalf of independence. He also organized a campaign which created sufficient noise that caused Edwards, that "charming phony," to summon Quezon and to threaten to get rid of him for stirring up too much trouble. The independence campaign must have bewildered the BIA since in private the nationalists seemed not seriously considering independence. In 1922, McIntyre submitted a confidential memorandum reporting his talks with Quezon and Osmeña. The two Filipinos were advocates of immediate independence and yet in these talks, they claimed independence was not "seriously thought of." This Filipino ambivalence had the advantage of giving a new lease to the office and significantly supporting the bureau's stand that independence was out of the question for "one or two" generations. **Filipinas** might want to stay under the protective custody of mother America but a time might come when continued breast-feeding would prove to be totally out of the question. Thus when that time came as it did in the 1930's, there was no longer any alternative for the BIA except "extinction." The mistake of the BIA seemed to be in counting on remaining as America's colonial office for a while. It failed to make allowance for the possibility that the move for independence might come from the opposite direction of the two-sided relationship — from mother America. Thus the error of the Philippine policy insofar as the bureau was charged with the responsibility of preparing the Filipinos for independence, should be laid on its door-steps. It was doubtful, however, if the bureau was capable of preparing the Philippines for independence even if Congres did not restrict its activities. The office was administered by military men who, though efficient and conscientious, were nevertheless lacking in comprehension and imagination.

SYNDROMES OF AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION *

By Celedonio O. Resurreccion

ALTHOUGH the Philippines was exposed to Western culture as early as 1565—almost 410 years ago—when the first Spanish settlement was established in Cebu, the country was not brought within the peripheral influence of exciting landmarks of Western economic history. Other than the establishment and maintenance of the galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco, which necessarily limited the field of external relations of the Philippines, there was hardly any exposure to the commercial revolution of the early 16th century and its concomitant price revolution.

The same negative situation obtained with respect to the agricultural revolution of the 17th-18th centuries that preceded the industrial revolution of the 19th century. The latter period saw the emergence of the corporate revolution, the business revolution, the banking revolution, and all these synergistically described as "capitalism without property."

It is not therefore strange that in development literature, the Philippines, despite her lead of contact with European Westerners, is classified in the developing or underdeveloped category. The dismal implication is that culturally the Filipinos are backward and from the economic point of view the economy is underdeveloped. Admittedly, she has been so from the very beginning.

In the topology of stages of economic growth as conceived by W. W. Rostow the Philippines has been classified as among the six countries attempting a take-off. The basis of eight per cent (8%) ratio of Investment to Gross National Product (GNP) was an error subsequently corrected by the then National Economic Council. The rectification made definitely moved back the Philippine classification to the pre-take-off category in Rostow's scheme.

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Philippine economic development has been a slow, imperceptible process. A rationalization of the state of affairs would place the blame on social inertia of conservative forces and on pernicious politics that abetted graft and corruption and dissipated precious scarce resources for the benefit of a few. The situation fostered a feeling of alienation, generated discontent that degenerated into overt demonstrations and mass disorders. In other words, the series of events taken together resulted in what is known as a "revolutionary situation," which called for immediate drastic governmental action.

Fortunately, the Filipinos have a leader in the person of President Ferdinand E. Marcos whose historical orientation and deep sense of history gave him valuable guidance in confronting the problems of the state. His bold and daring proclamation of martial law was as historic as it was sensational. It was a countermeasure to save the Republic from its enemies and to establish the New Society on new desirable traits as a means of national renewal for social survival. Actually, the New Society stands for revolutions short of armed, sanguinary conflict. It rests on seven pillars popularly identified by the acronym P-L-E-D-G-E-S: Peace and order reform, Land Reform, Economic Reform, Development of moral values, Government reorganization, Education reform, and Social service reform.

This year's History Week marks the second anniversary of the proclamation of martial law and the institution of the New Society. Accounts of the achievements and accomplishments of the New Society are well dissiminated by media. Whether the pillar of economic development reform is proving itself to be an asset or a burden depends largely on just what the records say.

Before the historic cut-off date of September 21, 1972, much was said and written about Philippine society being sick. It was sick, politically, economically, socially, and morally. There was colossal bankruptcy in the whole fabric of society. The economy, for instance, was floundering, if not sinking. That was the charge before the proclamation of martial law.

Is the charge still tenable today, two years from that historic date of September 21, 1972? Is the economy depressed, unproductive, stagnant, sliding down? Or, are the Filipinos now on the threshold of an economic revolution? If they are, what are the syndromes of our economic revolution?

Tentatively, let us allow ourselves to join the ranks of skeptics. Let us adopt a null hypothesis: that the New Society has not brought any change in our economy and that if there has been change it is negligible and imperceptible. Armed with this null hypothesis, we gather and present the data gathered. Finally, we collate our findings, go back to our null hypothesis, and make a declaration whether it has been borne out.

The term **REVOLUTION** in the context of economics "refers to a period of rapid acceleration in the rate of social change." The **word acceleration** suggests not a constant rate of increase of growth, which is graphically represented as rectilinear (straight line). Rather, **acceleration** means a quickening of the rate of increase of growth, an ever-increasing rate of progression. It is represented graphically by a curvilinear (arched) curve. The one represents a linear function, and the latter represents the exponential function.

By the term "syndrome we understand a group of concurrent symptoms characterizing a disease." In this paper syndrome will be used as meaning a cluster of indicators corroborating the existence of something like an economic revolution.

ORIGIN OF TAKE-OFF AND REVOLUTION

In Rostow's conceptual scheme, the beginning of take-off can be traced to a particular sharp stimulus. The stimulus partakes various forms.

1. It may be a political revolution that has an impact on—
    a) the balance of social power and effective values,
    b) the character of economic institutions,
    c) the distribution of income,
    d) the pattern of investment outlays, and
    e) the proportion of potential innovations actually applied.

    Examples of sharp stimuli are:

    * The German revolution of 1848
    * The Meiji Restoration of 1868 in Japan
    * The Chinese Communist victory in China (1949)

2. It may come through a technological innovation, such as inventions.

3. It may take the form of a newly favorable international environment, such as the opening of British and French markets to Swedish timber in the 1860's.

4. Or it may be a sharp relative rise in export prices as in the case of the U.S. from the late 1840s, Canada and Russia from the mid-1890s.

The evidence of take-off is the rate of economic growth (ratio of capital investment to national income), which should be between 5% and over 10% in order to offset the rate of population growth.

THE SYNDROMES

How is the state of the economy? Just as a physician has to take the temperature, the pulse rate, the blood pressure, both the systolic and diastolic limits, and other relevant data or information for the diagnosis of the patient's ailment, so it is necessary for one to resort to certain indicators to ascertain the syndromes of condition of the economy. These will be taken up presently.

1. **MONEY SUPPLY.** The money supply continued building up until it reached ₱8 billion on December 31, 1973. This level was more than its level only the month before by ₱894 million or 12%. It was ₱1,356 million, or 19.9%, more than its level at the end of 1972. The rule-of-thumb limit of the annual rates of growth in money supply is 15%. But during every month of 1973, this 15% limit was exceeded, especially in April and August. The fall to 20% towards the last quarter of 1973 was due to determined action by the monetary authorities to pull the money supply down.

The level of money supply received a tremendous impact from the high level of external receipts which accounted for an increase of $594 million in the country's international reserves.

The monetary impact of the external sector at the end of 1973 amounted to ₱4,643 million. The tightened credit policy on the public and private sectors, which withdrew ₱2,154 million and ₱1,133 million, respectively, had deflationary effects. Despite this, there remained a net unabated inflow of ₱1,356 million which only served to swell money supply levels at the end of 1973.

Because the increase in money supply was accompanied by heightened business activity, the composition of money in 1973 showed an increase in peso deposits subject to check. This comprised nearly 58% of total money supply which currency in circulation comprised only 42% in contrast to last year's proportions: peso deposits, 49%, and currently in circulation, 51%.

The over-all liquidity position of the country was 43% higher in 1973. Increases in savings, time and marginal deposits as well as in deposit substitutes on top of the expansion of money supply enlarged the total domestic liquidity to a high level of ₱21,083 million as compared to the 1972 level of ₱14,761 million.

In 1973 there was noted a new feature, namely, the increasing importance of the deposit substitutes as an outlet for the substantial surpluses in the export sector. Deposit substitutes rose by 180% to ₱4.246 million, which by far exceeded all other increases and accounted for much of the rise in domestic liquidity.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR MONEY SUPPLY MOVEMENT
December 31, 1972 and 1973 (Million of Pesos)

I. MONEY OF INTERNAL ORIGIN				
A. Public Sector	₱1,223.0	₱ 1,753.9		
1. National Gov't.	1,223.0	1,753.9	530.9	₱ 799.8
2. Local Gov't.	399.2	1,753.2	—1,354.0	--1,354.0
TOTAL PUBLIC SECTOR	₱1,622.2	₱ 2,507.1	—1,884.9	₱—2,153.8
B. Private Sector	₱2,563.8	₱ 3,697.1	—1,133.3	—1,133.3
C. TOTAL PUBLIC & PRIVATE SEC.	₱4,186.0	₱ 7,204.2	—3,018 2	—3,287.1
II. MONEY OF EXTERNAL ORIGIN				
A. International Reserves	₱6,744.4	₱ 2,869.5	₱ 3,904.9	₱ 4,173.8
Less: Borrowings abroad	₱———	———	———	———
Use of Fund Credits	₱			
Foreign Currency Depos.				
CBCI For. Currency				
TOTAL OF EXTERNAL ORIGIN	₱3,966.5	₱—407.6	₱ 4,374.1	₱+4,643.0
III. TOTAL MONEY SUPPLY	₱8,152.5	₱ 6,796.6	1,355.9	₱+1,355.9

DOMESTIC CREDITS OF THE MONETARY SYSTEM

Domestic credits in 1973 show moderate increases during the first half and rapid acceleration during the last five months. At the end of the year domestic credits reached a high of P18,779 million.

At this level, domestic credits increased by P2,605 million, or 16%, over the 1972 year-end level.

Credits extended to the public sector declined by 28% while those of the commercial banking system increased by 27%.

By percentage distribution, CB credits comprised a smaller portion, only 13% of total credits, while credits of the commercial banking system accounted for the increased and larger portion of 87%. The comparable ratios at the end of 1972 were: Central Bank, 20%; commercial banks, 80%.

COMMERCIAL BANKING SYSTEM

The increased credit operations of commercial banks were made possible by the abundance of reserves in the system during the year. This was in marked contrast to reserve deficiencies during the preceding year.

As of December 1973 available reserves amounted to P2,757 million, which was P945 million or 52% more than the level a year before.

The required reserves amounted only to P2,490 million. This means that the commercial banking system ended the year with excess resources of P267 million.

Because of the year's extraordinary growth in liquidity, the end-1972 reserve deficiency of P61 million was reversed.

The surplus position was even more notable when considered against the fact that required reserves were also 33% higher in 1973 as a result of the banking system's increased deposit liabilities. The latter rose by P3,119 million in 1973, the bulk of which were in the form of savings and demand deposits, as time deposits fell off in favor of the higher interest yielding substitutes.

By year-end 1973, the reserve position was bright, with potentials of reserves reflecting a 49% increase over comparable figures in 1972.

COMMERCIAL BANK CREDITS TO INDUSTRIES

Credits granted during 1973 by commercial banks alone reflected an increment of ₱14 billion or 43% over the total granted in 1972. Lending activities in 1973 were directed almost entirely to the private sector, with the following industries as recipients: trade (49%), manufacturing (23%), bank and other financial institutions (13%) and agiriculture, fisheries and forestry (6%). Compared to 1972 credits, there was in 1973 a significant shift in direction.

CREDIT OPERATIONS OF OTHER BANKING INSTITUTIONS

1. **DEVELOPMENT BANKS** — Loans granted by development banks expanded the level of their credit operations by almost double the amount in 1972. Loans in 1972 amounted to ₱181 million and in 1973, ₱326 million, reflecting an increase of ₱145 million or 80%.

The Development Bank of the Philippines alone granted ₱248.4 million in 1973 and ₱135.1 million in 1972, posting an increase of ₱113 million or 84%.

2. **RURAL BANKS** — Credits extended by rural banks during the first seven months in 1973 increased by 38% compared to a similar period in 1972. The total loans granted in 1973 amounted to ₱620.6 million compared with ₱450.8 in 1972, registering an increase of ₱149.8 million or 38%.

CAPITAL AND MONEY MARKETS

In 1973 there were 36,007 new firms registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Bureau of Commerce with a combined paid-in capital of ₱985 million that bolstered the capital requirements of the economy:

There were 21,106 more firms registered during 1973 compared to 1972, and the additional capital generated was ₱379 million, or 62.8%.

Likewise, in the stock market, the volume of transactions went up stupendously. The number of shares traded at the Manila Stock Exchange jumped to 68 million shares, representing a massive leap of 44% over that of the previous year (1972). The gross value of transactions made was ₱3,643 million, which reflected a tremendous rise of 784%. The increased stock market activity during the year 1973 was attributed to several factors, namely:

1. The spurt in metal prices, particularly copper and gold;
2. The favorable investment climate, which brought about the inflow of foreign investors;
3. The intensified activity in the oil exploration and drilling sector;
4. The tax on stock transactions from 2% to 1/4% and the reduction of brokers fees from 1-1/2 to not more than 1/2 of one percent; and
5. Also the full and prompt repatriation of capital and profits by foreign investors through banking channels, which made it more attractive for foreign investors to trade in locally-listed issues.

STOCK TRANSACTIONS (1971-1973)

ITEM	1971	1972	1973	Per Cent Change 1972	Per Cent Change 1973
Shares (million)	12,451	15,526	87,102	24.7	461.0
Value (million)	₱ 343	₱ 414	₱3,643	17.3	780.0

AS TO MONEY MARKETS, interbank rates moved over the range of 1 to 15% as compared to the 3 to 30% boundaries in 1972. The 1973 record reflected the higher level of liquidity in the banking sector in 1973, which was the result of the external surpluses.

PUBLIC FINANCE

CASH OPERATIONS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT — The National Government posted an over-all cash operating surplus of ₱2,120.8 million (exclusive of financial transactions) in 1973. This was in sharp contrast to the ₱930 million deficit incurred in 1972. This reversal was due to an 85.2% increase in receipts which more than offset the 30.4% increment in disbursements.

Operating receipts reached ₱11,094.5 million. This figure was ₱5,104.3 million or 85.2% higher than the 1972 total of ₱5,990.2 million. This impressive growth was contributed by several factors:

1) Implementation of various tax amnesty programs;

2) Increased efficiency of the collection machinery;

3) Increase in economic activity which enlarged the taxable base;

4) Revisions in the National Internal Revenue Code and the Tariff and Customs Code.

Operating disbursements in 1973 was ₱8,678.7 million or 30.4% more than the 1972 level. This growth was fostered, among others, by the accelerated economic and social development programs of the National Government, the expansion of general government functions and the large increase in defense expenditures.

PRODUCTION

The over-all performance of the productive sector showed stepped-up activity.

The over-all production index, which is a composite index of activities in the manufacturing, mining and energy generation sectors, moved up at a faster rate of 10.8% compared to the 5.8% in 1972. Individually the improvement in the rate of growth in production in 1973 over that of 1972 is as follows: manufacturing, 11.1%; mining, 5.8%; electric power, 15.5%; agriculture, 1.4%; private construction, 20.5%; and real estate transactions, 9.5%.

EMPLOYMENT AND GROSS SALES

The over-all index of employment in 1973 rose by 7.1% or more than three times the growth rate registered in 1972. Employment gains occurred largely in agricultural and mining as well as in the transport and communication sectors.

The size of the labor force was 13,886 in May 1973. Of this some 95.5% were employed and the rest (4.5%) were unemployed.

PRICES

The upward spiralling prices in 1973 were influenced by four major interacting factors:

1. The fast rising liquidity originating from the surplus in the foreign sector which exerted an expansionary impact on money supply equivalent to ₱4.6 billion. The country's liquidity position was 43% higher in 1973 than in 1972.

Ambeth Ocampo

2. Commodity shortages both at home and abroad which aggravated the inflationary pressures of existing high liquidity.
3. Imported inflation, arising from higher prices of imported goods which are further burdened by the increase in local customs duties.
4. Higher prices of exports which filtered down to affect domestic prices of home-consumed exportable commodities.

Consumer prices in the Philippines went up by 12% in 1973 from 1972 levels.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

An over-all surplus of $664.6 million was recorded in the country's balance of payments for 1973. This far surpassed the level of $94.5 million attained in 1972 by a wide margin of $570.1 million. This surplus was contributed largely by the unprecedented growth in export shipments.

With exports rising to $1,871.4 million (including $49.1 million in profits realized by the Central Bank from the sale of gold) against imports of $1,596.6 million, a trade surplus amounting to $274.7 million was achieved or a gain of $396.7 million over that of the previous year.

The expansion in exports was attributable to the soaring prices of Philippine products in traditional markets, coupled with strong demand from the country's newly established markets.

INTERNATIONAL RESERVES

Our international reserves increased sharply by $594.1 million from $281.9 million in 1972 to $875.9 million at the end of 1973.

Central Bank holdings increased by $488.3 from $548.8 million in 1972 to $1,037.0 million by the end of 1973.

The net foreign exchange holdings of commercial banks reflected a substantial improvement from a negative $266.9 million at the close of 1972 to a negative $161.1 million at the end of 1973. The gross foreign exchange holdings of commercial banks increased by $192.7 million to $378.6 million while liabilities increased by only $86.9 million to $539.7 million.

The international reserve movement during 1973 was characterized by a continuous upstand.

EXTERNAL TRADE

For the first time since 1963 there was a reversal in the foreign trade balance from a deficit in 1972 to a sizeable surplus in 1973. Total trade during 1973 reached a record peak of $3,882 million as against $2,405 million in 1972, or an increase of 45%

The upsurge in prices in the world market for the country's principal export products caused exports to rise by 65% to a new high of $1,886 million, outpacing the expansion of 27% in imports. This resulted in a substantial trade surplus of $289 million, in sharp contrast to the deficit of $115 million in 1972.

Trade with the European Common Market expanded by 28% from $344 million in 1972 to $440 million in 1973.

Trade with ASEAN countries was maintained at $74 million. Philippines exports to the group registered a gain of 158%, while imports were 41% less than in 1972.

Trade with other ECAFE countries expanded by $53 to $281 million. Both exports and imports went up by $77 million and $21 million, respectively.

In summary, the Philippines had favorable trade balances with most of its major trading partners except with the United Kingdom, West Germany and Australia. Substantial trade deficits were incurred with the oil producing countries, particularly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

The rate of growth of the Philippines in 1973 was 10%, which was double that registered in 1972. For a country to reach the take-off stage, it must attain a steady rate of economic growth of 5%. The country today, one may say optimistically, is in the same situation as England in the early 19th century or Japan during the Meiji Restoration after the mid-nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this paper, we adopted the null hypothesis that the Philippines after the proclamation of martial law on September 21, 1972, has not been experiencing an accelerated pace of change. The evidence appears to show the contrary. The changes that took place in 1972 were only preludes to the revolutionary changes that took place the year after. One may say that the economic revolution has already begun, if it is not already here.

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION [*]

By Pedro S. de Guzman, Jr.

The dominant note of the years preceding World War II and the ensuing reconstruction period was one of choice of means between reform or revolution as the needed process of liberation and the prelude to development among the peoples of the Third World. But in the Seventies, **reform** and **revolution** became interchangeable as long as the latter did not involve the use of force. In other words, it became increasingly evident that revolution could be attained without resort to violent means and that reform could be rightfully termed revolution even as the approach toward it was along peaceful, legal and constitutional lines.

Historically, the world "revolution" had its origin in a public movement that succeeded in the overthrow of an existing government or political system and the establishment of another. Metaphorically, it may denote any development that upsets the established order. Robert Nisbet aptly observed thus: "Whatever else the word 'revolution' connotes to our age, substantial change is clearly the essence. Whether we have reference to the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, or the Scientific Revolution—to select three varying and widespread uses of the word 'revolution'—the implication is the same in all three: that large scale, far-reaching and somewhat convulsive change is involved."[1]

The year 1971 was a focal one. In that year, the beginning of the Second Development Decade, the head of the Republic of the Philippines, President Ferdinand E. Marcos, came out in his book **Today's Revolution: Democracy**, with the novel thought that democracy through self-interaction or internal acts emanating "from the center"—which means the government—can be revolution by itself without resort to arms or bloodshed. It was postulated that through the institution of various reforms to establish a New Society, the Republic can be saved from the forces of destruction coming from within and without.[2]

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Exactly two years have passed since the launching of the historic "September 21 Movement" under a state of martial necessity and the protective and beneficent umbrella of constitutional authoritarianism. Since then we have been witnesses, if not privies, to the rapid transition from the Old to the New society and with it the varied types of revolutionary struggle in our country. Fittingly, they are the topics of this two-day Seminar on History, with the theme "THE REVOLUTIONS OF OUR TIME," sponsored by the Philippine Historical Association and the Laoag City Chapter, PHA.

The topic assigned to me deals on the Agrarian Revolution. Clarence Senior wrote of land reform as "this world's revolution of our time which is not new nor should it be strange to those of us who are heirs of centuries of major social struggles, most of which were concerned with questions of land ownership."[3] In our country land reform has, indeed, reached a point whereby it can be said that a revolution has truly taken place in our agrarian structure. I am tempted to state — I hope the other speakers on the different revolutions of our time will pardon me for saying it — that the Agrarian Revolution is identifiable with the whole gamut of the democratic revolution in the Philippines. President Marcos has repeatedly declared that "land reform is the basic program — the cornerstone — of the New Society and that without land reform the New Society will fail." He did say so not out of mere rhetoric. His words were backed up by the history of progressive nations, like Japan and Taiwan.

Again in his book **Today's Revolution: Democracy**, President Marcos set forth as the quintessence of the New Society the democratization of wealth and property in avoidance of the alternative of socialization or abolition. He explained, thus: "Democratization simply means the 'sharing' of private wealth with the entire society, and this calls for the regulation of property for collective human ends. Thus, private wealth and property are not abolished, for this will stultify private initiative and turn man into a pure collective being.... But the unbridled use of wealth and property mocks the ends of human society, for it accomplishes the 'elevation of the few and the degradation of the many'."[4]

Since agrarian reform redistributes property in furtherance of the wealth-sharing order, it is veritably a democratization instrument. It strikes at the roots of poverty which is the predominant condition of the people and as such it serves the New Society's primary aim of equality of opportunity, thereby giving substance and vitality to the entire democratic revolution. Moreover, agrarian reform paves the way for a new power structure through the reallocation of the economic, social and political power among the rich and the poor. With the redistribution of property, which is the basic and most fundamental measure embraced by agrarian reform, the power which used to gravitate in the hands of the elite who are few becomes correspondingly diffused among the middle-class and toiling masses who compose the many. Herein lies the chief democratization merit of agrarian reform, which gives no quarter to Alexander Hamilton's lament over a man having control of another man's subsistence who also exercises control over his will.

Let me now invite you to a brief sojourn to the corridors of history and view the panorama of events depicting an epic so revolutionary and even encompassing in scope and far-reaching in significance. Limitations of time and space, however, constrain us to have just passing glimpses of the storied mural. At best we should be able to delineate the various stages of the agrarian struggle and identify the particular measure and epochal time marking the turning-point that was to spell the revolution of agrarian essence and dimension in Philippine history.

Before proceeding, I feel that we should agree on a definition of terms as a basis of common understanding of what we are after. "Land reform" used to be the popular term to denote improvement concerning land tenure or land-man relationship. "Agrarian reform" is now regarded and adopted as the more appropriate term. "Agrarian" refers not only to land but also to the relation which man, the community and the State have with land. **Man** is represented by the cultivator and the owner. "Reform" means desired change to solve a problem which may be a defect or disorder in the relationship of man and land. The aims and goals of agrarian reform transcend land boundaries and the personalities of the two peoples involved — the tiller and the landowner. Montemayor has averred that they include economic, social, political and even cultural relations.[5]

Previous definitions of agrarian reform had stressed its objectives and the program components or the various services connected with it without, or with only a faint, mention of its instrinsic stuff. As a result, the meaning of the term has become somewhat confused. Land reform or agrarian reform was looked upon as an "integrated set of measures designed to eliminate obstacles to economic and social development arising out of defects in the agrarian structure." The agrarian structure is viewed as comprising the land tenure structure, the production structure, and the structure of support-services. These are sustained by a system of social, administrative and political institutions, which would have to be changed in the process of land reform.[6]

The United Nations has come up with a broad perspective as follows:

> In this context the term "agrarian structure" is defined as the complex of interconnecting sets of relationships (within the agricultural sector) between tenure structure, production and structure of supporting services. Though these types of structures, in reality, cannot be identified separately, the concepts are particularly useful and they have special significance, at least for the limited purpose of this report. Land tenure structure is a concept referring to a set of one or more types of land tenure systems which are legal, customary or other institutionalized relationships between Government, society, groups and individuals regulating the rights to ownership and control of land and the duties accompanying such rights. The concept of production structure, which relates to the nature, type and **modus operandi** and the actual production process, is directly related to the size, location, shape of production unit and the internal organization and management of the production unit; problems in forming these types of structural relationship and the creation of new types of production units are somewhat different from the land tenure problems. Finally, there is the structure of supporting services, namely, credit, marketing, supply of agricultural and domestic requisites, processing, storage, etc., in so far as they have some immediate bearing on reforms of tenure and production structure. A comprehensive land reform programme can never be complete without integrated reforms of all of these three types of structure.[7]

Whatever trappings or ingredients may be attached to it, agrarian reform has its core in the redistribution of land in economic family size farms from the landowners to the tenants. We may define "agrarian reform," then, as the improvement of the tenurial position of the farmer-tillers by affording them the opportunity of ownership, coupled by the provision of the effective means to fully develop the land as well as themselves, thereby ensuring the elevation of their economic, social and political status in furtherance of equality and justice. Corollarily, the landowners who are adversely affected in the process of land transfer are provided assistance and just compensation to enable them to divert their capital tied up in agriculture to industrial development.

BACKGROUND[8]

The Philippine Agrarian Reform movement has a long history. The Philippines inherited a land tenure system that was feudal in character, because large tracts of lands were in the hands of a few while the tillers worked the land as tenants, mostly share-croppers. Large landholdings were also in the hands of religious orders. These were the so-called Friar Lands which totalled some 153,330 hectares shared by the Augustinian, Dominican and Recollect Orders.

The Spanish government attempted to systematize land tenure by urging landholders to secure titles to their lands. But the system was very defective because it led to land-grabbing by affluent and influential groups, thus exploiting and depriving small landholders who, in many cases, became share tenants.

During the first Philippine Republic, established after the Philippine Revolution of 1896, the government headed by General Emilio Aguinaldo, attempted to confiscate large landed estates, especially the Friar lands. However, since the Republic was short-lived, the plan did not materialize.

During the American era several laws were passed to regulate and improve land tenure. Among the significant legislations were the Philippine Bill of 1902 giving more specific conditions on the disposition of public lands; the Land Registration Act of 1902 (Act No. 496), providing for a systematic registration of land titles under the Torrens System; the Rice Share Tenancy Act of 1933 (Act No. 4054), regulating relationships between landowners and tenants of rice lands; and the Sugar Tenancy Act of 1933 (Act No. 4113) regulating relationships of landowners and tenants in sugar cane lands.

During the Commonwealth period, existing laws on land tenure were strengthened and improved by giving more freedom to the landowners and tenants to enter into tenancy contracts not contrary to law, morals and public policy; providing for compulsory arbitration of agrarian conflicts; and suspending any action to eject tenants.

Dictated by the social justice program of government, expropriation of landed estates and other big landholdings was started. Likewise started was the orderly settlement of virgin public agricultural lands in the country. Forerunners of this were the settlement projects of the National Land Settlement Administration (NLSA). At the outbreak of the Second World War, there were three major settlement areas containing more than 165,000 hectares.

After the recovery of Philippine independence in 1946, the problems of land tenure remained and in certain areas became worse. There was, therefore, a necessity of revising tenancy laws. The Congress of the Philippines enacted several measures among which were: Republic Act No. 34 of 1946, providing for the 70-30 sharing arrangement and regulating share-tenancy contracts; Republic Act No. 1160 of 1954, establishing the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration to resettle dissidents and other landless farmers; Republic Act No. 1199 of 1954, governing the relations between landowners and tenant farmers by recognizing two systems of relationship — share tenancy and leasehold, and providing security of tenure to tenants.

Despite the remedial measures and programs to improve the land tenure system, the inequities in the distribution of income from land continued to threaten the stability of the agricultural section. It was evident that while the legislative enactments were designed to regulate tenancy relations, the continuance of sharecropping as a form of land tenure was allowed. Hence, the formulation of a national policy to abolish share-tenancy.

In response to the need for a new state policy on land tenure that would be more conducive to economic development, the Agricultural Land Reform Code, Republic Act 3844, was passed by Congress on August 8, 1963.

The main objective of the new state policy was the establishment of owner-cultivatorship and the economic family-size farm as the basis of Philippine agriculture and, as a consequence, divert landlord capital in agriculture to industrial development. This was to be attained in gradual stages and for which an implementing machinery, adopting the concept of unified administration, was created and organized.

First in the tenurial transition was the abolition of share tenancy as a form of land tenure and in lieu thereof the adoption of the leasehold system. Next was the acquisition of private agricultural lands worked by lessees for resale to them at cost, thus transferring them into amortizing owner-cultivators. After they shall have fully paid the cost of the land they become full owner-cultivators. Simultaneous with this program was the upgrading of existing public land settlements and the opening of new ones to absorb displaced farmers due to the institution of economic family-size farms in the acquired areas.

Accompanying the tenurial shift were support measures delivered as a package of services such as: agricultural development; legal assistance; cooperative development; farmer education; infrastructure development (irrigation, roads, etc.); electrification; land consolidation and farm financing.

As of September, 1971, leasehold operations encompassed 236 municipalities and cities in 20 provinces. Covered by the program were 718,912 hectares of palay farms representing 23.7% of the total scope, involving 292,469 palay farmers or 27.6%. Of this number, 173,568 were palay share-tenants (40.1%) farming some 385,252 hectares (40.9%). Total corn area covered was 69,139 hectares, representing 7.2% involving 22,563 corn farmers representing 5.9%, of which 8,639 were corn share-tenants or 5% cultivating 23,025 hectares or 84% of total program scope.

The land acquisition and distribution aspect of the program with Land Bank financing has effected the acquisition of 55 estates comprising 9,500 hectares at a cost of ₱41.5 million; 4,463 farm families benefited from this land acquisition.

Twenty (20) settlement projects containing an area of around 400,000 hectares with about 200,00 settler-families were upgraded, and two (2) new settlement projects with a combined area of 39,485 hectares and benefiting 2,641 settler-families were opened.

During this period of program implementation under the Agricultural Land Reform Code, farm credit to farmers being shifted to leasehold was primarily provided by the Agricultural Credit Administration. From 1964 to 1971, ₱50.305,132.03 was loaned out to 106,351 farmers cultivating some 344,748.84 hectares.

The conversion of share-croppers into lessees engendered increased agricultural productivity as they became more receptive to accepted modern farm practices. In the leasehold areas, the per hectare average yield in 1966 was 48.9 cavans for the wet crop and

41 cavans for the dry as compared to 63.1 cavans for the wet crop and 64.5 cavans for the dry crop in 1969, or an increase of 30 and 59 percent, respectively.

While the Agricultural Land Reform Code was considered a comprehensive legislation on land reform, it had nevertheless inherent weaknesses. Foremost among these was the lack of a supporting scheme for financing. Other major weaknesses were the organization structure which, although founded on the concept of unified administration, allowed the member-agencies to fully control their respective resources and to support other programs outside of land reform; and the resistance of landlords to tenurial improvement which impeded program implementation because of their propensity to resort to tedious and expensive legal processes to the detriment of the tenants.

The government, recognizing the need to further accelerate program implementation, had the Agricultural Land Reform Code amended so as to remove roadblocks to expeditious implementation by the creation of a single-line and comprehensive department for agrarian reform and of an agrarian reform special account for program financing (Republic Acts Nos. 6389 and 6390).

TURNING-POINT

The goal of the Philippine Agrarian Reform Program is the establishment of owner-cultivatorship. The achievement of this primary goal, however, must be complemented by a myriad of interrelated support activities aimed at improving the productivity of the farmers, establishing the machinery for land acquisition, instituting certain changes in the present organizational structure to synchronize activities relating to provision of certain inputs required by farmers, setting up the necessary infrastructure facilities, and consolidating the efforts of various programs and the execution of such programs by different agencies to ensure that they move in unison toward the achievement of the agrarian reform program. In other words, for the agrarian reform to be successful, a total approach in the solution of the problem is important. The failure to adopt this total concept had been a big factor in the sluggish implementation of earlier agrarian reform programs.

The declaration of Martial Law in the Philippines created a conducive atmosphere for the adoption of this total concept in approaching the agrarian problems. As a matter of fact, it was not only effected to solve peace and order problems, but also for the much needed social and economic reforms. Agrarian reform became the cornerstone of the New Society.

The following are the significant milestones which brought about the realization of our Agrarian Revolution:

1. The expanded constitutional position of social justice;

2. The issuance of Presidential Decree No. 2 declaring the entire Philippines as Land Reform Area and enjoining all agencies and offices of the government to extend full cooperation and assistance to the Department of Agrarian Reform to ensure the successful prosecution of the Agrarian Reform Program;

3. The issuance of P.D. No. 27 emancipating tenants from the bondage of the soil, transferring to them ownership of the land they till, and providing the instruments and mechanism therefore: and

4. The issuance of related decrees, letters of instruction and directives to ensure the implementation of P.D. No. 27.

It is worthy to note at this juncture that by the express mandate of our fundamental law the State is enjoined under the Declaration of Principles and State Policies "to promote social justice to ensure the dignity, welfare and security of all the people" and towards this end it is empowered "to regulate the acquisition, ownerership, use, enjoyment, and disposition of private property, and equitably diffuse property ownership and profits" (Sec. 6, Article II, New Constitution of the Philippines). It is further ordained by Section 12, of Article XIV, under National Economy and the Patrimony of the Nation, that the State shall formulate and implement an agrarian reform program aimed at emancipating the tenant from the bondage of the soil and achieving the goals enumerated in the Constitution. Under Section 13, same Article, the legislative body may authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of private agricultural land to be subdivided into small lots and conveyed at cost to deserving citizens. As counterparts of the social justice policy, the State also has the duty to provide social services to the general population and the protection of labor's right (Sec. 7 and Sec. 9, Article II, **ibid.**) The Constitution likewise charges the State with the task of economic development through integrated planning with the end in view of bringing about balanced economic and social development.

As noted above, the Agrarian Reform Program, as an initial step, abolished the share tenancy system and sought to institute agricultural leasehold in its place. This was resorted to not only to increase the participation of the tenants in the produce of the land by virtue of the fixed-rental policy and remove the pernicious institutional restraints and practices attendant to the old **kasama** system, but also to make them gain experience and know-how in farm management preparatory to their assumption of the responsibilities of independent proprietorship. The goal of the agrarian reform program is the establishment of owner-cultivatorship of economic family-size farms, as the basis of Philippine agriculture, and corollarily of cooperative-cultivatorship among those who live and work on the land as tillers (Section 2, Republic Act No. 3844 as amended). Owner-cultivatorship is attained through land acquisition as well as resettlement processes. Because the conversion of share tenancy to leasehold and the acquisition of individual private agricultural lands for redistribution were found slow and costly, the bold and massive program of "Operation Land Transfer" has been adopted in implementation of Presidential Decree No. 27.

Under the schedule of priorities in "Operation Land Transfer," all private agricultural lands primarily devoted to the production of rice and corn having sizes of 100 hectares or more down to 24 hectares have been covered by the program. In seventeen (17) pilot municipalities located in different provinces, rice and corn lands regardless of size were subjected to land transfer operations. The land transfer program has the following work phases: (1) Data Gathering — Landowners Listing and Classification, Farmer-tillers' Identification, and Production Survey; (2) Parcellary Map Sketching; (3) Data Processing and Computerization and Preparation of Certificates of Land Transfer; (4) Issuance of Certificates of Land Transfer; (5) Determination of Land Production and Value per Hectare of each Land Category; (6) Preparation of Amortization Schedules; (7) Land Valuation of Specific Lots per Title: (8) Payment of Landowners — Thru Land Bank or Direct from Tillers; (9) Final Survey of Lands Conveyed; and (10) Issuance of Emancipation Patents to Farmer-Recipients of Land Transfer Certificates after full payment of purchase price and compliance with the requisites provided in Presidential Decree No. 27.

In all places other than those already covered, rice and corn lands with sizes less than 24 hectares are due for inclusion in forthcoming schedules under the program of implementation extending to the year 1977. The deferred implementation of the program with respect to lands of smaller areas is intended to give time to the small land-owners, who form part of the middle class, to make necessary economic adjustments before their lands are transferred to their tenants. Out of the total scope of 1,078,817 tenant-tillers and 1,343,213 hectares of rice and corn lands, the accomplishment score as of September 21, 1974 is as follows: Issuance of Certificates of Land Transfer — 180,386 tenant recipients, 251,991 certificates issued, 319,285 hectares involved, and distributed in 63 provinces. Meanwhile, the Land Bank started paying for lands already transferred under the particular modes of payment opted by the respective owners, It is also undertaking studies and surveys of reinvestment opportunities to assist the landowners affected by the program in diverting their capital previously tied up in agriculture to industrial development.

Agrarian reform is concerned not merely with "dividing the pie," so to speak. While land tenure improvement is the core of the program, it is complemented by rural services of all kinds designed to increase productivity and raise farm incomes as well as ensure the stability of the changed farm tenure. Among these are the provision of infrastructure facilities (roads, bridges, irrigation, drainage and flood control); credit assistance; agricultural extension services; farmer education; cooperatives; plant pests and diseases control; certified seed distribution; soil analysis and fertilization; electrification; and last but not least, legal services. The Philippine pattern of agrarian reform follows the "integrated approach" which advocates land reform as a comprehensive policy, embracing not only the opportunity of ownership but also a variety of other measures to assist the farmers. This modern concept rests on the assumption that with the help of timely and adequate credit, technical assistance and facilities for the marketing and distribution of products, the land will become for the man who works it "the basis of his economic stability, the foundation of his increasing welfare; and the guarantee of his freedom and dignity."[9]

In fact, agrarian reform is an integral part of the development strategy. Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor, Jr. has well pointed out that our new Constitution identifies "social justice as the primary end" and that the strategy for its realization is **development.**[10] The term "social justice" no longer bears the limited scope of application it used to have. It now runs through the gamut of the entire Constitution and seeps down to all sectors of activity in the national endeavor for advancement. For a balanced development that will not only ensure an increase in output and productivity but also result in an improvement in levels of living, in a greater equality in the distribution of income and the general decrease in poverty, social justice requires that economic development should be accompanied by social planning, and project feasibility studies should not miss to consider social realities. With the benign advice of Adlai Stevenson in mind, our efforts in the economic and social fields should be united in a "single grand design for human progress," for a society which does not translate economic progress into the satisfaction of human wants especially for the vast number at the base of the socio-economic pyramid is doomed.

Fortunately, we have an agrarian reform program which, unlike previous experiments here and elsewhere, is a combination of socio-economic-politico schemes for progress. It is integration of proven concepts, practices and policies. Agrarian Reform Secretary Conrado F. Estrella has aptly described it as a "total approach to development which has broken the backbone of feudalism and dismantled the land-based oligarchy." He mentioned its principal components as Land Tenure Improvement, Physical Development, Institutional Development and Agricultural Development.[11] The farmer is not only the beneficiary of a full "package of services;" the landowner is likewise the recipient of assistance and guidance to enable him to rechannel his capital to industrial enterprises. With continued strong national leadership and adequate financial support, agrarian reform is, as it should be, the major thrust toward social justice.

Thus, with the start of the national reformation on September 21, 1972, the feudal system of land tenure which had dragged on for centuries has finally come to an end. Instead, a revolutionary era of land system throughout the country was born — the ultimate emancipation of the tenant-farmers from the bondage of the soil. The issuance of Presidential Decrees Nos. 2 and 27 were the liberating measures. As President Marcos has declared: "With these two decrees, the Government set into motion the massive overhaul of the system of land ownership in the Philippines, and at last land reform ceased to be an unrealized dream in our society."[12] As early as 1966, during his first term as president of the Philippines, President Marcos announced: "There is no turning back in land reform. It is my fervent desire to see every farmer own the land he tills." The full emancipation of the Filipino farmer has been the President's obsession.

IRREVERSIBLE MOVEMENT

Where is the political direction of our agrarian reform efforts? Is it towards the Right, the Left or where else? If we try to discern what the ultimate aim of the agrarian reform program is, which was the overriding consideration for the enactment of the Code of Agrarian Reforms of the Philippines, we will perforce come to identify it as: "To make the small farmers more independent, self-reliant and responsible citizens, a source of genuine strength in our democratic society" (Par. 6, Sec. 2, Republic Act No. 3844 as amended). We should take note of the clause **"a source of genuine strength in our democratic society."** This clearly defines the intrinsic character of the Philippine agrarian reform movement. It should be no surprise to anyone that our agrarian reform program pursues the democratic line, considering that it is largely based on law and the legal system is the hallmark of democracy.

With the present trend of radicalization, however, the question may be asked: Is agrarian reform in the Philippines of democratic advocacy? Otherwise stated, do we actually subsist in a democracy? The truth is that even before martial law agrarian reform was already on the march. After the issuance of Proclamation No. 1081, it took bolder steps and acquired greater momentum. Yet martial law, it should not be overlooked, is not severable nor deductible from democracy. It is a long-established principle of the Rule of Law which is enshrined in our constitution. Both the old and the new Constitutions contain the provision that "in case of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, the (President/Prime Minister) may suspend the privilege of the writ of **habeas corpus**, or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law." The present set-up which is within the framework of democracy is nonetheless temporary and coterminous with the duration of the current precarious situation. It was not born out of emergency without constitutional basis. Paraphrasing Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, emergency does not create power but it furnishes the occasion for the exercise of reserved power duly sanctioned by the Constitution.

The Agrarian Revolution is irreversible. "Land Democracy," as President Marcos has fondly called our agrarian reform program, moves neither Right nor Left of center because it is the very fulcrum on which are poised the scales of distributive justice and prosperity. Let there be no cause for fear that the gains of today for the substance of democracy may be lost tomorrow, like Aladdin's lamp, in exchange for its mere form or shadow.

NOTES

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[1] Robert Nisbet, "History, Sociology and Revolutions" **Solidarity**, Vol. VI, No. 12 (December, 1971), p. 42.

[2] Ferdinand E. Marcos, **TODAY'S REVOLUTION: DEMOCRACY**, Chapter Two, pp. 8-21.

[3] Land Reform and Democracy by Clarence Senior, p. 1.

[4] Ferdinand E. Marcos, Chapter Six. The New Society, **TODAY'S REVOLUTION: DEMOCRACY**, pp. 99-100.

[5] Jeremias Montemayor, "Concept and Philosophy of Land Reform" (Outline Lecture used during the Joint AFP/DAR/DJ/FFF Seminar on Agrarian Reform at Fort Bonifacio, October 24-27, 1972.)

[6] Report of the Joint FAO/ECAFE/ILO Seminar on Land Reform Implementation in Asia and the Far East, Manila, Philippines, July 1-12, 1969, p. 4.

[7] Progress in Land Reform, Fifth Report, United Nations, New York. 1970, p. 1.

[8] Based on AGRARIAN REFORM IN THE NEW SOCIETY, Department of Agrarian Reform Publication.

[9] Report of an **ad hoc** Group of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in Community Development and National Development, UN Publication, New York, 1963, p. 19.

[10] Alejandro Melchor, Jr., "Philosophy of Development", **The Ambassador,** Vol. III, No. 3 (February, 1973).

[11] Conrado F. Estrella, **Agrarian Reform in the New Society**, 1974.

[12] Ferdinand E. Marcos, **Notes on the New Society of the Philippines**, 1973.

REVOLUTIONARY TRENDS IN THE NEW SOCIETY *

By Diosdado G. Capino

> "The greatness of a man," wrote Rizal, "is not in living before his time, a thing almost impossible, but in UNDERSTANDING its desires, in RESPONDING to its NEEDS, and in GUIDING it on its FORWARD WAY."[1]

I. Responsive Leadership Unfolds

In writing this challenging thought, Dr. Jose Rizal left to his people a lasting legacy for their greatness. And President Ferdinand E. Marcos, in proclaiming Martial Law on September 21, 1972, began leading his people to claim their destiny to greatness. He foresaw with clearness the needs of his people, comprehensively understood how to meet their needs, and boldly began guiding them to live in a NEW SOCIETY.

President Marcos outlined the main purpose of building a new social order as follows:[2]

> Now we are trying to build a society in which economic activity promotes the interests of the individual and the welfare of the whole. Necessarily, the authority of the government must be exerted whenever these ends are not being served. But it should be obvious that individual enterprise and initiative will play a significant role in the economic society. The distinction between the public and private sectors is formal, since each has its particular duties to the people and their society. But this should not prevent the two sectors from joining together in a common cause. What made the old economic system unacceptable was that the so-called partnership between government and private business resulted in an oligarchy rather than an egalitarian economic society.
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> This partnership should have resulted in the conquest of mass poverty, for that was its only justification. But such were the values of the old society that the partnership between the public and private

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[1] Jose Rizal. **El Filibusterismo**, translated by Charles E. Derbyshire, **The Reign of Greed**, Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1939, p. 65.

[2] Ferdinand E. Marcos. **Notes on the New Society of the Philippines**, Manila: Marcos Foundation Inc., 1973, pp. 95-96.

sectors was, in many instances, a conspiracy to enrich and increase the power of the few. This is certainly not capitalist, according to the tenet that it is the most efficient and liberal way of making society prosperous. The solution to this is not necessarily socialistic.

The solution lies in the moral commitment — the political will — to the aim of the New Society: the conquest of mass poverty.

II. A Series of Revolutions Begun

A series of **changes, alterations** or **re-orientations** began on September 21, 1972 or two years ago. The main thrust of the New Society on these revolutionary changes is code-named PLEDGES and has for its GOALS peace and order (P), land reform (L), economic development (E), development of moral values (D), government reorganization (G), educational reforms (E), and social services (S).

During the last two years of Martial Law, a number of **revolutionary trends** (changes, alterations or re-orientation) can be discerned which belong to "external" and "internal" revolutions. The first refers to external changes and the second implies changes in our manner of thinking and behaving.

What are some of these **revolutionary trends?**

I. Continuing Re-orientation in Strengthening Moral Values

A fundamental revolutionary trend in building the New Society is the continuing efforts of the government in shaping the character of the people. On September 27, 1973, President Marcos ordered the clean up of the public service by weeding out undesirable officials and employees. Various government offices responded courageously by following the amendatory rules on the discipline of government officials and employees. The amendatory rules gave thirty grounds for disciplinary action.[3]

When "backsliding" was noted, President Marcos ordered a more intensive campaign against "backsliders" in various sensitive offices. The National Defense Department continues the campaign relentlessly.[4]

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[3] 392 Customs, BIR Employees Ousted, **Philippine Daily Express,** September 30, 1972; 206 Education, Postal Employees Dismissed, **op cit.,** October 5, 1972; Police Purge Pushed, **Philippine Evening Express,** October 16, 1972; 12 Top Customs Officials Picked Up, **Philippine Daily Express,** October 26, 1972; Virata Fires 33 Treasurers, **op. cit.,** 26, 1972; GSIS Fires 84 Employees. **op. cit.,** November 2, 1972; POLCOM Dismisses 5 More Policemen, Suspends 20 others, **op. cit.,** December 17, 1972.

President Marcos continues appealing to our people in strengthening the moral foundation of the New Society. Nine days after proclaiming martial law, a sense of personal and social discipline was stressed when he called upon every citizen to keep their environment or surroundings clean and wholesome.[5] The same objective was emphasized when he called upon citizens to avoid and prevent ostentatious display of wealth and extravagance, including lavish town fiestas or social gatherings. They are directed to limit town fiestas to one day, which should be as simple and economical as possible.[6]

The Department of Education and Culture is taking active part in the development of moral values not only for pupils and students, but also for all officials of the department. In August, 1974, it dismissed more than 70 teachers and officials for dishonesty, immorality, unbecoming conduct and forgery of checks.

Because of the government's concern for the moral well-being of the youth, President Marcos summarily banned all pinball and slot machines and their owners were ordered to dismantle or destroy those in their possessions.[7]

In view of the scandals in game-fixing and point-shaving in basketball, the ccuntry's premier national sport, President Marcos banned betting in sports events, point-shaving and other machinations. The presidential decree imposes a maximum imprisonment of six years and a fine of ₱2,000.00 if the offender is an official, such as promoter, referee, umpire or coach. If he is a non-government person, the maximum term is four years with a fine of ₱1,000.00. If the offender is an alien, he will suffer the same penalty but will also be liable for deportation.[8]

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[4] 2 'Backsliding Mayors Held,' **Bulletin Today**, September 15, 1973; AFP Warns Backsliders: Behave or Else, **Philippine Daily Express**, Sept. 16. 1973; 4th Backsliding Mayor arrested, **The Times Journal**, October 1, 1973; Military Polices Its Own Ranks, **Philippine Daily Express**, October 5, 1973; 2 Metrocom Sacked, **Philippine Daily Express**, October 3, 1973; Mayor, Health Officer held for Backsliding, **Philippine Daily Express**, October 5, 1973; Stern Warning to Backsliders. **The Times Journal**, October 6, 1973; 3 More Held for Backsliding, **Philippine Daily Express**, October 9, 1973; New Body to Probe Backsliding, **Philippine Daily Express**, October 17, 1973; BIR Bears Down on Backsliders. **Philippine Evening Express**. March 21, 1974, BIR Customs, LTC Next in Graft Drive, **Philippine Daily Express**, Gov't. to Press Anti-Graft Drive, **The Times Journal**, June 25, 1974, Military Court Convicts 39 AFP Men, 41 leared, **Bulletin Today, May 4, 1974.**

[5] General Order No. 13:

[6] General Order No. 15.

[7] Presidential Decree No. 519.

III. Continuing Effort in Uniting the Filipinos

Nation building concerns every Filipino. All citizens have been exhorted by the President to cooperate in the work of attaining the goals of the New Society. After studying the case of the members of the Communist Party in the Philippines, President Marcos granted conditional amnesty to them.[9] Persons who have committed certain offenses in the Muslim provinces and cities of Mindanao were also granted amnesty. President Marcos has appointed a Peace Commission to handle the grant of amnesty to all insurgents in Mindanao and Sulu.[10] The President assured former rebels who surrendered to him that he will not tolerate any maltreatment of them by government officials.[11] And in order to hasten the development of Mindanao and Sulu, the government is exerting efforts to forge a closer unity between the Muslims and other cultural minorities.

A bold experiment was launched on May 9, 1974, when President Marcos declared certain lands communal. The bold experiment will be tried or implemented first in Jolo, Sulu where all titles to privately owned lands were destroyed when Maoist Muslims burned the town in February, 1974. On May 10, 1974, communal land ownership was widened by including government lands traversing new infrastructure projects. The main purpose of communal land ownership is to democratize wealth and to return power to the people.[12]

Members of the national cultural communities will be given the ancestral lands occupied by them or by their ancestors for at least 30 years before March 11, 1974. This refers to the land of the public domain. Unappropriated public agricultural lands occupied and cultivated by the members of the national cultural communities for at least 10 years, even though less than 30 years, before March 11, 1974 are similarly granted to them.[13]

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[8] Presidential Decree No. 483.

[9] Presidential Decree No. 124.

[10] Presidential Decree No. 25; 19 Muslims Get High Government Jobs. **The Times Journal**, June 24, 1974.

[11] Assure Former Rebels of Safety, **Bulletin Today**, December 15, 1973.

[12] Declare Certain Lands Communal, **Bulletin Today**, May 9, 1974; Widen Communal Land Ownership, **Bulletin Today**, May 11, 1974.

In uniting the Filipinos, President Marcos assured the people that (a) the present democratic presidential system will remain as the basis for the transition government, (b) the civil government remains supreme, with the military only playing a secondary role, (c) the local executives, who were elected by the people, will remain in office, (d) the principle of free enterprise shall be respected in production, manufacturing, agriculture, marketing, and trading, (e) private lands shall not be expropriated except for public purposes like housing, public works, and socio-economic development, and (f) recognition of private ownership of lands and the giving of due validity to existing titles will be observed.[14]

IV. Continuing Appeals to the Private Sectors in Helping Reform Philippine Society

President Marcos has exhorted the private sectors to help in reforming Philippine Society. Fifty-two days after proclaiming Martial Law, President Marcos appealed to producers, middlemen to adjust operations and profits to help the economic reforms of the New Society. He appealed to the MERALCO stockholders, whose holdings are in excess of 10,000 shares, to give up the excess shares of the corporation to be distributed to the consumers. He appealed to big corporations to offer shares of the corporation for sale to the public to widen ownership of the corporation. He appealed to private firms to grant emergency allowance to their employees. He appealed to private firms to engage in the construction of houses for the low-income groups with the cooperation of the Government Service Insurance System.

V. Continuing Integrated Approaches in Tackling National Problems

In reforming Philippine society, President Marcos reorganized the government as early as November 2, 1973. Four new executive cabinet posts were created: the National Economic and Development Authority, the Department of Local Government and Community Decelopment, the Department of Agrarian Reform and the Department of Public Information. As needs for efficient services are felt, various government departments undergo changes to streamline their functions and make them more functional. An excellent example of an integrated approach in tackling national problems was taken on September 8, 1974 when the Department of Agriculture was streamlined. It should be remembered that the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources was divided into two departments on May 8, 1974 — the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Natural Resources. To boost the government's food production program, President Marcos integrated some 6,600 farm extension workers from the four DA bureaus, as well as from the Department of Agrarian Reform. The functions of the DA among 11 department-wide regional directors were also integrated. Aside from this, thousands of farms would be provided with more effective agricultural services and assistance.[16]

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[13] Rules Issued for Ancestral Land Grants, **Philippine Daily Express**, July 7, 1974.

[14] No Revolutionary Government, No dictatorship, Presidential system stays, **Philippine Daily Express, January** 21, 1973; President Cites blocks to Freedom, **Philippine Daily Express**, June 13, 1974; Clarify Succession, **Bulletin Today**, August 31, 1974; Fears Allayed Fear on Military Rule, **The Times Journal**, September 11, 1974.

In continuing the integrated approach in developing our economic potentials, President Marcos insisted that ACTION must be taken fast in solving the problems before each government agency. He created a corps of Presidential Regional Officers for Development (PROD) and Coordinating Officers for Program Execution (COPE) to expedite action on government projects. The President reminds local government executives of their role in implementing governmental plans. On November 18, 1972, the President reminded the members of the Cabinet to eliminate red tape and disregard protocol. On February 23, 1973, the President set a timetable for all government projects. A "watchdog" group was created by the President to inform him of the operations of key government officials in the seven major reforms areas of the New Society (PLEDGES). On July 15, 1974, the President reminded the various departments of the government to assume greater responsibilities in carrying out important government projects and stop BUCK PASSING. On his 57th birthday on September 11, 1974, President Marcos urged govern-

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[15] FM to Producers, middlemen: Adjust operations, profits, **Philippine Daily Express**, November 12, 1971; FM Asks Business to Step up Efforts, **Philippine Daily Express**, November 25, 1972; An Ideology for Development, **Philippine Daily Express**, June 11, 1973.

[16] DANR Divided into Two Departments, **Bulletin Today**, May 18, 1974; Aggie Department Streamlined, **Bulletin Today**, September 9, 1974.

ment officials to "move faster" for the people are impatient. The President, too, created a "watchdog" unit in the Department of Public Highways to make periodic evaluations of the performance of the diferent units in the department.[17]

VI. Continuing Re-examination of Policies and Practices for Improved Public Services

One of the new projects of the New Society in carrying out its goals was the creation of the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP). The main purpose of the DAP is the training of technocrats (economists, judges, civil service men, and other kinds of executives) to make them more efficient in rendering services to the people.

The President continues urging intensive schooling for leaders. In a speech delivered before the faculty members and students of the National Defense College of the Philippines, the President stressed the importance of intensive schooling for leaders so that they may help in spreading the goals of the New Society.[18]

An experiment that has been fruitful in rendering efficient services to the people is police integration, a policy set forth in the new constitution of the Philippines which provides that the state shall establish and maintain an integrated national police. The "one-police" plan was tested in Greater Manila when President Marcos integrated the police forces, jails and fire departments of four cities and 13 towns in Greater Manila to improve the peace and order condition and public safety in those areas.

Because of the success of the integrated command of the police forces in Greater Manila, President Marcos ordered on August

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[17] "Do Tank" leaders named as projects move into high gear, **Philippine Daily Express**, November 1, 1972; FM tells local government excecs of their role in implementing plan, **Evening Express**, November 8, 1972; FM tells Cabinet men: Never mind protocol, eliminate red tape, **Philippine Daily Express**, November 17, 1972; President sets timetable for all gov't. projects, "Watchdog" group created to oversee gov't operations, **Philippine Daily Express**, February 23, 1973; Stop buck passing says President, **Philippine Daily Express**, July 15, 1974; Watchdog unit formed at Highways **The Times Journal**, September 10, 1974.

[18] DAP trains career exces, **The Times Journal**, April 30, 1974; Training center for technocrats, **Philippine Daily Express**, June 26, 1973; Intensive schooling for leaders urged, **Philippine Daily Express**, February 5, 1974.

8, 1974, the integration of the police forces in 17 provinces into the peace function of the Philippine Constabulary. According to the President, the integration of all police forces as envisaged in the new constitution will be completed in one or two years.[19]

Another experiment of the government in solving a national problem — decongestion of our prisons — is the establishment of several prisons in various parts of the Philippines.

Tax amnesties have increased tax collection. And the filing of assets and liabilities will give the government a better picture of national wealth.

VII. Continuing Services in Meeting the Rebellion of the Poor

The New Society is committed to the promotion of the welfare of the people, particularly the great mass of our people. President Marcos made this clear when he wrote:

> An ideology of the New Society must, therefore, base itself on one ruling principle: that the interests, objectives and needs of the poorest of the working people must take precedence over those of the rest.[20]

The government is continuously promoting the welfare of the great mass of our people. Wages are being re-examined from time to time to find ways and means to increase them. This work is under the Wage Commission which brings representatives of labor and management together to determine a wage that is both adequate to labor and economically feasible to management. It has, for instance, revised the wages for sugar, industrial and agricultural workers, the jeepney drivers in Manila, the dessicated coconut industry workers and the workers in the coconut oil industry. Most recent was the signing of the new Labor Code on May 1, 1974, standardizing the salary of employees in government corporations who are now embraced by the civil service law. They will no longer be subject to collective bargaining agreements with management of labor government corporations.[21]

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[19] Test "one-police" idea on Greater Manila, **Bulletin Today**, January 24, 1974; Metro Manila to have one police force, **The Times Journal**, March 24, 1974; 1,500 local police forces to be merged into one nat'l. body, **Philippine Daily Express**, September 9, 1974.

[20] Ferdinand E. Marcos, **Notes On the New Society**, op. cit., pp. 5255.

The new Labor Code introduces many benefits for the workingmen, one of which is the increase in workingmen's compensation benefits from P6,000.00 to P12,000.00.

A significant revolutionary trend is noticeable in the services being rendered by the Social Security System and the Government Service Insurance System. Fresh and bold ideas, for instance, benefited the members of both government and private organizations. Aside from the increase in the pension granted to the members of the SSS, a grant of P750 burial benefit for the members was granted which will no longer be deducted from the pension of the member. A monthly pension is granted to surviving minor legitimate children (not to exceed five in number) of the deceased member. It is significant to note that when President Marcos granted the burial benefit to the members of the SSS, the board of trustees of the GSIS approved a resolution increasing the burial benefit it grants to its members from P200.00 to P750.00.[22]

A revolutionary shift in the investment policy of the GSIS was introduced through the fresh ideas of President Marcos who urged the GSIS to undertake mass housing projects for its members. Since the funds of the GSIS are trust funds contributed by its members matched by corresponding government contributions, it is only just that the beneficiaries should be the government employees themselves. And also, lending policy was shifted to benefit the government employees. An illustration to dramatize this shift is that the P200,000,000.00 spent for the last two years for financing low-housing projects was the same amount previously loaned multi-million-peso commercial and industrial private companies.

Medicare benefits are being increased now and then as financial conditions warrant them. For the present time, members of the GSIS and SSS, including one legal dependent of each member, are covered under Phase I of the medicare program. And this means that about 20,000,000 Filipinos are enjoying medicare benefits. The progressive and "compassionate" policy of the government extended medicare benefits to government retirees.[23] Phase II of the medicare program will cover all Filipinos.

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[21] Minimum wages increased in 4 labor sectors, **Philippine Daily Express, March 1, 1973**; Sweeping Labor Code Signed, **Bulletin Today, May 2, 1974.**

[22] Presidential Decree No. 347; GSIS: Home Builders for its members, **Philippine Daily Express, May 7, 1974.**

A mass insurance program has been initiated by the President for those who are not qualified to join the SSS or the GSIS. Those who are qualified to join the mass insurance program are members of the operational "Samahang Nayon" cooperatives being organized in many parts of the country.[24]

President Marcos has called for a review of the nation's health policy so that there will be a more equitable distribution of health and medical services. The plan envisions the establishment of many hospitals in various parts of the country.[25]

Incidental to the plan, the President issued a Letter of Instructions directing hospitals and medical clinics to buy their medical supplies directly from pharmaceutical manufacturers or importers, thus by-passing distributors and wholesalers.[26]

A bold step taken to make farmers part-owners of the Planters Products Cooperative Marketing Supply, Inc., was decided by the officers of the nation's biggest fertilizer supplier and distributor when they amended the articles of incorporation of the company to make the farmers part-owners. The major beneficiary of this ownership dispersal of a basic need of agriculture are the rice, corn and sugar farmers.[27]

A revolutionary change will be a great boost to the country when the government's program for electrification of the rural areas is completed. One bold move taken by the President in connection with electric power several days after the imposition of martial law was the reduction of the cost of electricity. But on account of the increase in the cost of oil, MERALCO's petition to increase the cost of electricity was later approved without prejudice to those whose consumption is below the prescribed minimum consumption. On September 11, 1974, President Marcos ordered the reduction of the cost of electric power through thte reduction from five percent to two percent of the franchise tax on revenues of electric companies and the lowering of the tariffs on the crude oil processed into bunker fuel by these firms.[28]

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[23] Presidential Decree No. 403.

[24] Prepare mass insurance plan, **Bulletin Today**, December 28, 1973.

[25] New National health plan covers all, **The Times Journal, April 26, 1973.**

[26] Letter of Instructions No. 213.

[27] Letter of Instructions No. 178; Farmers to share ownership of fertilizer firm, **Philippine Daily Express,** April 1, 1974.

The nation is slowly developing a middle class, which is the backbone of democracy. We are now developing a new type of citizens through a systematic training in various skills, thus improving our manpower for economic development. This program is being carried on by the National Manpower and Youth Council.[29]

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[28] President cut costs of power, **Philippine Daily Express,** September 12, 1974.

[29] New Middle Class is Emerging as New Society Moves Onward, **Philippine Panorama,** July 29, 1973; Manpower program trained 20,761 in 1973, **Philippine Daily Express,** January 15, 1974.

THE PHILIPPINES AT THE CROSSROADS*

By Wilfredo G. Nuqui

I. Introduction

Two years after the imposition of Martial Law occasion a close look at its impact upon the economy. Has there been an "economic revolution?" What lessons can we derive from our two years of experience under the New Regime? This paper hopes to further distillate thoughts regarding these issues.

II. The Pre-Martial Law Philippine Economy

Let us start with the 1960's to have some perspective of the economy before the imposition of Martial Law.

The performance of the economy during the decade was not altogether satisfactory. The Gross National Product in real terms (in constant 1967 prices) grew at an average rate of 5.4 per cent for developing countries and the world respectively. Not only was the performance unsatisfactory in comparison with the average growth rate of developing countries but also in the light of a generally considered much higher growth potential of the country (i.e. within the 6.0 to 7.5 per cent range).

Dampening the growth prospects of the economy were the increasingly serious bottlenecks. The external sector had not been very rosy partly because of the structure of the economy. There was increasing fiscal laxity that aggravated the shaky balance of payments position. Furthermore, there was growing restlessness that was more and more adversely affecting the economy.

During the 1960-1970 decade, the structure of the economy was becoming evidently lopsided. The manufacturing sector (mainly of industries in the finishing stages) which was hoped to be the leading sector, given all the incentives and policies favoring it — highlighted by the exchange and import controls of the 1950's — did not come up to its expected role. The economic misallocation of the control system was broadly continued by a tariff system giving highest effective (tariff) protection to the sector, thereby perpetuating what Dr. Gerardo Sicat has called the "import dependent substitution" process. This inward development strategy implies a greater dependence on the ability of the agricultural sector not only to feed the populace but also to earn the foreign exchange needed to buy the raw materials and capital equipment of mainly the manufacturing sector.

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Here is a bit of an irony. The import substitution strategy of development gained intellectual respectability in the development literature in the 1950's largely due to the efforts of Latin-American economists especially Raoul Prebisch who have been disturbed by the long run prospects of the politically emerging underdeveloped economies exporting mostly primary products that at that time faced a generally adverse terms of trade. That is, a well orchestrated important substitution strategy was aimed at lessening the dependence of the whole economy on the agricultural sector especially as it is related to external economic relationships.

The failure of the manufacturing sector to provide the needed growth push further tied the whole economy to the still inadequately performing agricultural sector. The fast disappearing land frontier necessitated that increases in agricultural production come mainly from rises in productivity. While the experience from the high yield rice varieties shows that Filipino farmers would readily accept technological changes if large benefits from such innovations could be demonstrated to them, very inadequate irrigation facilities have become the roadblock to put the new agricultural technology to full advantage. Furthermore, drought and plant diseases — of which the the new varieties are more susceptible — have dampened the enthusiasm of the farmers for the new agricultural technology such that importation has to be resorted to again for the major food crop.

As the economy was experiencing setbacks in food production in the latter part of the decade, price drops for major export products reduced export earnings. As a result, the balance of trade position worsened. (See Table 2).

Aggravating the decline in export earnings was a generally lax fiscal policy and external debt management. The national government's current deficit amounted to P194 million in FY 1969 and P218 million in FY 1970; correspondingly, the deficit of the national government after capital expenditures rose to record levels of ₱855 million and ₱1194 million in FY 1969 and FY 1970, respectively. Furthermore, the management of external debt was very unsatisfactory, with the ratio of short term debt to total debt averaging 25.6 percent from 1966 to 1969 as against only 15.3 percent for the 1970-1973 period. Net public and private loan capital sharply rose to ₱400 million in 1968 and ₱217 million in 1969 from $7 million in 1966 and $40 million in 1967. International reserves rapidly dropped from a decade high of $213.2 million in 1967 to $118.4 million in 1969. The large devaluation of the peso in 1970 was an offshoot of these disequilibriating influences on the external sector.

The most disturbing developments during the decade, however, were socio-political. There was growing disillusionment especially among the student and labor groups that threatened the whole foundation of the society. The issues were many, not the least of which were economic. The not-so-bad growth rates have been accompanied by increasingly unacceptable unemployment rates and income distribution. Unemployment rates averaged 6.1 percent from 1960 to 1965; it was 7.4 percent from 1966 to 1969. Table 3 shows an increasingly inequitable distribution of income.

While economic inequities provided issues for disenchantment, it was the very low political morality that particularly fired up discontentment. Barely had the country entered into the decade of the 1970's when it was badly shaken by the January 1970 demonstrations. Peace and order became the immediate national objective. It was a troubled period that was aggravated by calamities. Things seemed to have come to a head that martial law was imposed on September 21, 1972.

III. The Philippine Economy under Martial Law

While Martial Law was declared to stem the rising tide of lawlessness and rebellion, it was also an opportunity to concentrate national efforts towards economic and social development. Numerous basic reforms were since instituted in order to: (1) create the proper climate for economic and social development; (2) eliminate developmental bottlenecks; (3) strengthen and coordinate development policies and strategies; and (4) generate and mobilize resources for development.

Almost immediately after the declaration of martial law, the problems of increasing agricultural production had to be tackled.

Drought, plant infestation and the 1972 floods had considerably depressed the growth picture of the agricultural sector; from 1970 to 1972, net value added in the combined agricultural-fishery-forestry sector grew by only an average of 1.5 percent per annum. The growing economy calls for a concerted food production campaign; a more vigorous agrarian reform program to provide a more viable institutional framework for agricultural innovation and an increased importance of irrigation since the long run success of agricultural development program hinges on the availability and proper use of irrigation facilities.

Hand in hand with the agricultural development program was a policy of export diversification, mainly of manufactured products and tourism services. This was in consonance to a market shift toward an outward development strategy with an export mix favoring manufactures to meet the growing import needs of economic growth. The more open attitude to foreign investments can be taken as an approach not only to augment limited domestic capital resources but also to induce a more dynamic export-oriented economy.

Given the bigger challenges of the big push to sustained growth, a more responsive government machinery becomes crucial. Efforts for more coordinated planning and policy formulation have been speeded up. There has been increased regionalization of government departments paving the way to greater decentralization of economic decision-making. Graft and corruption have been reduced thereby further strengthening the people's faith and confidence in the government and its men.

The national government has provided the necessary leadership for a reorientation toward vigorous economic and social development. The ratio of its current expenditures on economic and social services to total current expenditures rose to record highs of .656 and .728 in fiscal years 1972-73 and 1973-74, respectively, from a record low of .507 in fiscal year 1971-72. The ratio of capital expenditures to total expenditures leaped by a hundred percent from fiscal year 1972-73 to fiscal year 1973-74 (i.e., from .134 to .268). Tax revenues jumped considerably; furthermore, the ratio of direct taxes to the total drastically rose from .3 in FY 1972-73 to .4 FY 1973-74, underscoring a relatively greater tax burden on the more economically well-off households.

Just as the government was gearing itself to a concerted development program, favorable world price trends for the country's products resulted in a record level of balance of payments surplus in 1973. International reserves steadily rose from a $226 million in September, 1972 to a new peak of $876 million in December, 1973. The much improved foreign exchange position should thus induce acceleration of economic activities.

Indeed, after the economy grew by only 4.2 percent in real terms —a decade low—in 1972, it soared to 9.8 percent in 1973, the highest since 1951 (please see Table 4). Manufacturing registered an impressive 12 percent growth rate in 1973 as against 6.0 percent in 1972. Agricultural-fishery-forestry showed a remarkable recovery from a mere .02 percent growth rate in 1972 to 6.8 percent in 1973. Concomitantly, the rate of growth of investments as measured by gross domestic capital formation rose sharply to 8.9 percent in 1973 as against 2.3 percent in the preceding year. Investments perked up in a more invigorating climate for both domestic and foreign investors. Nowhere is it more pronounced than the sharp upswing in the durable equipment expenditures which grew by 8.5 percent from a 10.2 percent drop in 1972 (Table 5). While the bright picture of 1973 partly reflected the recovery from a near standstill in 1972, the growth momentum seemed attained, and maintaining it has become a national economic objective.

Unfortunately, unsettling world developments — highlighted by the oil issue — have considerably dampened the growth prospects of the economy for the succeeding year. Inflation rates soared to alarming levels, reaching 38.5 percent per annum in a June, 1973 to June, 1974 comparison. The marked growth deceleration of the country's major trading partners has depressed export earnings prospects for the current year, as exemplified by forestry products which topped earners list last year. Nevertheless, the economy still registered a commendable 4.9 percent growth in real net domestic product during the first semester (January-June) of 1974 over the same period in 1973. Furthermore, gross domestic capital formation increased by a significant 10.8 percent over the same period (Tables 6 and 7). These are bright notes in an otherwise uncertain period both for the country and the whole world; and seemed to strengthen the view that the growth momentum has taken hold; i.e., the country is on the verge of "taking off into sustained economic growth."

IV. Conclusion: Some Lessons from Martial Law

Perhaps the most important lesson that we can derive from our experience under martial law is the reaffirmation that a stable, purposeful, development-oriented political leadership is a prerequisite to a vigorous drive towards social and economic development. Echoing Prof. S. N. Eisenstadt, there must be a strong and responsive center of decision making that shall regulate the conflicting demands of the various groups in the society and reorient them away from particularistic interests toward the attainment of national goals. Whether an imposition of martial law is necessary to attain the aggregation and integration of the interests of the society and the formulation as well as attainment of national goals in the light of the then prevailing political culture and the dynamics of power in a so-called prismatic society like ours is already academic. What matters is that under martial law we are much nearer to it.

It may be noted that one of the pre-conditions of a "take off into sustained economic growth" according to Walt Rostow, is the emergence of socio-political institutions conducive to the ultilization of economic opportunities to full advantage. And implied by this example is the crucial role of nationalism — the crystallization of a nation and its objectives against regional, particularistic and foreign interests.

While a conducive socio-political environment is necessary, the pattern of development, and perhaps ultimately the growth potential, of an economy crucially hinges on the growth strategy followed. The post-World War II Philippine economy has been characterized by recurring foreign exchange crises that could be attributed to a generally inward development strategy increasingly dependent upon a not so dynamic agricultural sector. It is becoming more evident that bottlenecks to agricultural productivity increases have to be overcome and a rationalized more outward-looking industrial sector has to be developed. Whether the growth momentum could be maintained in the long run depends importantly upon the success of the country in tackling these areas. Only then can we confidently say we have taken off into a sustained economic growth.

The growing emphasis upon social development and improvement of the prevailing distribution of income indicates the increasing realization that economic development cannot be sought for its own sake. Economic growth has to be attained with the minimum possible social costs and different strategies offer alternatives. Clearly, the choice is limited and the paths are not easy. Nevertheless, economic development cannot be aspired to the detriment of the foundation of the society. Otherwise, it is the ultimate irony.

Table I

Growth Rates of GNP
(In constant prices)

Years	Philippines[1]	Developing[2] Countries	World[2]	Years
1961-65	5.3			
1965-69	5.5	5.5	5.0	1960-69
1969-70	5.6			
1970-71	5.8			

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[1] Sources: 1961-66: Background papers on the Philippine economy for the World Bank Economic Mission (Part II), Manila, March, 1974.

[2] Source: A.K. Sen, "The Philippine Economy: A Study" (mimeo).

Table 2

Balance of Payments, Balance of Trade
Import Payments and Export Receipts, 1960-73
(In million US dollars)

Year	Balance of Payments	Balance Trade	Import Payments	Export Receipts
1960	27	(145)	788	643
1961	24	(166)	776	610
1962	28	(63)	779	716
1963	39	101	792	893
1964	(123)	(24)	966	942
1965	(15)	38	1054	1092
1966	57	65	1122	1187
1967	(65)	(211)	1433	1222
1968	(49)	(148)	1512	1123
1969	(136)	(385)	1551	1166
1970	23	(389)	1489	1341
1971	6	(125)	1538	1413
1972	95	(177)	1662	1485
1973	664	322	2186	2508

Table 3

Comparative Income Distribution
Share of Ordinal Group

Year	Bottom 10%	Bottom 30%	Top 10%	Top 30%
1961	1.5	7.6	41.0	67.5
1965	1.1	7.0	40.1	66.7
1971	1.2	7.1	37.1	65.1

Source: Family Income and Expenditures: 1971 (Series No. 34), The BCS Survey of Households Bullettin.

Table 4

Annual Estimates: Gross National Product, National Income, and Net Domestic Produce By Industrial Origin, CY 1971 to 1973 (At constant 1967 prices)

Item	*Value in million Pesos			Per Cent Increase (Decrease)		Percent Distribution		
	1971r	1972r	1973p	1971-72	1972-73	1971	1972	1973
1. Agriculture, fishery and forestry	8934	8948	9559	0.2	6.8	32.2	30.8	30.5
2. Mining & quarrying	650	686	732	5.5	6.7	2.3	2.4	2.3
3. Manufacturing	5497	5828	6527	6.0	12.0	19.8	20.1	20.8
4. Construction	771	1014	1245	31.5	22.8	2.8	3.5	4.0
5. Transportation, communication, storage & utilities	1154	1217	1306	5.5	7.3	4.2	4.2	4.2
6. Commerce	4357	4594	4903	5.4	6.7	15.7	15.8	15.6
7. Service	6424	6735	7101	4.8	5.4	23.1	23.2	22.6
NET DOMESTIC PRODUCT at factor cost	27787	29022	31373	4.4	8.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Net factor income from abroad	(310)	(382)	(205)	(23.2)	46.3			
NET NATIONAL PROD. or NATIONAL INCOME	27477	28640	31168	4.2	8.8	80.4	80.4	97.7
8. Indirect taxes net of subsidies	3057	2974	3589	(2.7)	20.7	8.9	8.4	9.2
9. Capital consumption allowance	3656	3999	4345	9.4	8.7	10.7	11.2	11.1
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT	34190	35613	39102	4.2	9.8	100.0	100.0	100.0

Revised
Preliminary

Source: National Economic Development Authority

Table 5

Annual Estimates: Gross National Product by Expenditures Shares, CY 1971-73
(At constant 1967 prices)

Item	Value in million Pesos			Per cent Increase (Decreased)		Percent Distribution		
	1971^{r}	1972^{r}	1973^{p}	1971-72	1972-73	1971	1972	1973
Gross domestic capital formation	6667	6820	7429	2.3	8.9	19.5	19.2	19.0
A. Fixed Capital Formation	5944	6035	6587	1.5	9.1	17.4	16.9	16.8
1. Construction	1866	2371	2612	27.1	10.2	5.5	6.7	6.7
a. Government	585	877	976	49.9	11.3	1.7	2.5	2.5
b. Private	1281	1494	1636	16.6	9.5	3.7	4.2	4.2
B. Increase in stocks	723	785	842	8.6	7.3	2.1	2.2	2.2

Revised

Preliminary

Source: Statistics Office, NEDA

Table 6

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT BY INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN
First Semester 1972, 1973 and 1974
(In million pesos at constant 1967 prices)

Industry	First Semester 1972	First Semester 1973	First Semester 1974	First Semester Percentage Growth Rate 1972-73	1973-74
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishery	4,329	4,327	4,418	(0.0)	2.1
Mining and Quarrying	326	378	396	14.7	5.9
Manufacturing	2,979	3,318	3,451	11.4	4.0
Construction	396	469	526	18.4	12.2
Transportation, Utilities, Communication & Storage	611	637	694	4.3	8.9
Commerce	2,312	2,424	2,466	4.8	1.7
Services	3,410	3,516	3,789	3.2	7.9
Net Domestic Product	14,354	15,060	15,737	4.9	4.5
	(192)	(164)	(3)		
Net Income	14,162	14,896	15,737		
Indirect Taxes	1,504	1,937	1,923		
Capital Consumption Allowance	1,977	2,143	2,249		
Gross National Product	17,643	18,976	19,909	7.6	4.9

Source: Statistics Office, National Economic and Development Authority

Table 7

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT
First Semester 1972, 1973 and 1974
(In million pesos at constant 1967 prices)

Expenditures	First Semester 1972	First Semester 1973	First Semester 1974	First Semester Percentage 1972-73	First Semester Growth Rate 1973-74
Personal Consumption	12,848	13,342	14,201	3.8	6.4
General Government Consumption	1,513	1,705	1,760	12.7	3.2
Gross Domestic Capital Formation	3,345	3,647	14,042	9.0	10.8
Exports of Goods and Services	2,530	3,850	2,588	52.2	(32.8)
Imports of Goods and Services	2,357	2,754	3,514	16.8	27.6
Net Factor Income from Abroad	(192)	(164)	(3)	14.6	98.18
Statistical Discrepancy	(44)	(650)	835		
Gross National Product	17,643	18,976	19,909	7.6	4.9

Source: Statistics Office, National Economic and Development Authority

THE SPIRITUO-MORAL REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME*

By Cresencio Peralta

Writing in general of the Filipinos of his time, Dr. Jose P. Rizal observed sadly:

> They gradually lost their ancient traditions, their recollections — they forgot their writing, their songs, their poetry, their laws, in order to learn by heart other doctrines which they did not understand; other ethics, other tastes different from those inspired in their race by their climate and their way of thinking . . . they became ashamed of what was distinctly their own that they may admire and praise what was foreign and incomprehensible.

Some of Rizal's contemporaries, themselves deeply concerned over the Filipinos' seemingly hopeless plight under the injustices and abuses of foreign domination, sought earnestly and rather impatiently to awaken and unite their countrymen in order eventually to overthrow the existing government and establish their own. They wrote patriotic guides, decalogs or creeds addressed primarily to the Filipino as individual, his duties and obligations to himself, to his family, to his fellowmen, to his country, and to God.

Hence, Andres Bonifacio wrote "Duties of the Sons of the People." This was reinforced by Emilio Jacinto's "Teachings of the Katipunan," followed by Apolinario Mabini's "True Decalog."

Mention must be made of the following documents which were written closer to our times:

Manuel Roxas' "Ang Bagong Katipunan"
Manuel L. Quezon's "Code of Ethics"
Jose P. Laurel's "The Filipino Civic Code"
Fr. De la Costa's "Code of Honor, Loyalty and Ethics"
Ferdinand E. Marcos' "Peace and Order Credo"
Armed Forces of the Philippines' "Code of Conduct for Members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines"

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*Paper read at the Annual Seminar on History of the Philippine Historical Association held at the San Beda College, Manila, December 1, 1974.

One unignorable quality found in all the aforementioned decalogs and creeds is mention of "God," "Divine Providence" or the "Almighty," revealing the spiritual orientation or foundation as it were (and indeed) of all the authors' noble thoughts and ideals conceived and meant to arouse man and eventually raise his life to a higher plane through the internalization and suitable application of worthier spirituo-moral values.

The same quality, the almost prayerful appeal (not mere passing mention) to God is found in the preamble of all our Constitutions:

I. PREAMBLE OF THE MALOLOS CONSTITUTION (1899)

> We, the Representatives of the Filipino people, lawfully convened, in order to establish justice, provide for common defense, promote the general welfare, and insure the benefits of liberty, **imploring the aid of the Sovereign Legislator of the Universe** for the attainment of these ends, have voted, decreed, and sanctioned the following.

II. PREAMBLE OF THE 1935 CONSTITUTION

> The Filipino people, **imploring the aid of Divine Providence,** in order to establish a government that shall embody their ideals, conserve and develop the patrimony of the nation, promote the general welfare, and secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty, and democracy do ordain, and promulgate this Constitution.

III. PREAMBLE OF THE 1973 CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

> We, the sovereign Filipino people, **imploring the aid of Divine Providence,** in order to establish a Government that shall embody our ideals, promote the general welfare, conserve and develop the **Providence,** in order to estawlish a Government that shall embody the blessings of democracy under a regime of justice, peace, liberty, and equality, do ordain and promulgate this Constitution.

On August 19, 1938, or almost two generations after Rizal's execution, President Manuel Luis Quezon then turning sixty said in part in addressing thousands gathered at the Sunken Gardens in Manila:

> We, the Filipinos of today, are soft, easy-going. Our tendency is towards parasitism. We are uninclined to sustained strenuous effort. We lack earnestness. Face-saving is the dominant note in the confused symphony of our existence. Our sense of righteousness is often dulled by the desire of personal gain. Our norm of conduct is generally prompted by expediency rather than by principle. We show a failing in that superb courage which impels action because

it is right, even at the cost of self-sacrifice. Our greatest fear is not to do wrong, but of being caught doing wrong. We are frivolous in our view of life. Our conception of virtue is many times conventional. We take our religion lightly. We think that lip-service and profession are equivalent to deep and abiding faith. We are inconsistent; we lack perseverance; the first obstacle baffles us, and we easily admit defeat. The patriotism of many of us is skin-deep, incapable of inspiring heroic deeds. There are those among us who are apt to compromise with ethical principles and regard truth as not incompatible with misrepresentation or self-deceit.

The **Quezon Code of Ethics** officially recorded as Executive Order No. 217 (August 19, 1939) of the Commonwealth of the Philippines was prescribed in the curriculum of the schools. The code is quoted hereunder in full:

CODE OF ETHICS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES

I

Have faith in Divine Providence that guides the destinies of men and nations.

II

Love your country for it is the home of your people, the seat of your affections, and the source of your happiness and well-being. Its defense is your primary duty. Be ready at all times to sacrifice and die for it if necessary.

III

Respect the Constitution which is the expression of your sovereign will. The government is your government. It has been established for your safety and welfare. Obey the laws and see that they are observed by all and that public officials comply with their duties.

IV

Pay your taxes willingly and promptly. Citizenship implies not only rights but also obligations.

V

Safeguard the purity of suffrage and abide by the decisions of the majority.

VI

Love and respect your parents. It is your duty to serve them gratefully and well.

VII

Value your honor as you value your life. Poverty with honor is preferable to wealth with dishonor.

VIII

Be truthful and be honest in thought and in action. Be just and charitable, courteous but dignified in your dealings with your fellowmen.

IX

Lead a clean and frugal life. Do not indulge in frivolity or pretense. Be simple in your dress and modest in your behavior.

X

Live up to the noble traditions of our people. Venerate the memory of our heroes. Their lives point the way to duty and honor.

XI

Be industrious. Be not afraid or ashamed to do manual labor. Productive toil is conducive to economic security and adds to the wealth of the nation.

XII

Rely on your own efforts for your progress and happiness. Be not easily discouraged. Persevere in the pursuit of your legitimate ambitions.

XIII

Do your work cheerfully, thoroughly and well. Work badly done is worse than work undone. Do not leave for tomorrow what you can do today.

XIV

Contribute to the welfare of your community and promote social justice. You do not live for yourselves and your families alone. You are part of society to which you owe definite responsibilities.

XV

Cultivate the habit of using goods made in the Philippines. Patronize the products and trades of our countrymen.

XVI

Use and develop our natural resources and conserve them for posterity. They are the inalienable heritage of our people. Do not traffic with your citizenship.

A careful re-reading of each of the sixteen separate provisions of the **Quezon Code of Ethics** cannot fail to impress upon anyone the recurrence of the various seed thoughts and teachings of M. H. del Pilar, Bonifacio, Jacinto, Mabini, and other contemporaries of Rizal. Furthermore, equally significant seed thoughts and ideals in the Commonwealth Constitution were woven into the Code.

To the possible question: Did Bonifacio's "Duties of the Sons of the People," or Mabini's "True Decalog" and all other codes or decalogs each inspire or fire or activate separate spiritual and moral revolutions? Philippine history does not seem to give an affirmative answer. Rather, one may venture the observation that the different codes/decalogs especially those of Bonifacio, Jacinto, and Mabini which belonged within a time bracket of ten years or a decade — all three could not have induced distinctly separate movements, instead, they could have served to reinforce or compliment each other and served as collective inspirers, arousers, challengers and guides to our countrymen during that troubled period in our history.

The **Quezon Code of Ethics** which was officially prescribed in the curriculum of all schools since the second semester of the school year 1939-1940, could have within a decade nurtured and conditioned a generation of Filipinos along its spiritual and moral precepts but barely a year later on December 8, 1941, the Philippines became the "victim of wanton aggression" and three weeks later the tragic setting of ruthless enemy occupation which lasted for almost four dark and bloody years.

My friends, to our mind the Spirituo-Moral Revolution of our time is in fact and indeed part and parcel of the New Society which all of us are now building. President Marcos himself declared that revolution, in whatever terms it is framed, under whatever principle, is fundamentally a **moral** act. Reduced to simple terms the New Society, among others, is resolutely committed to the democratic and gradual reduction if not eventual elimination of man's inhumanity to man in Philippine society. This difficult and delicate task is now being undertaken in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the New Constitution the basic philosophy of which is social justice. The difficult and trying task of attaining social justice is in itself an spiritual and moral character.

Like Bonifacio, Mabini, Laurel, Quezon and other Filipino leaders President Marcos wrote in clear, bold, and deliberate language what he believed the peaceful revolution to build a New Society is. He did not call this document a decalog nor a code nor a creed. He called it: **My Fighting Faith.** Allow me to read this document indited in crystal-clear language and in words, alive with conviction and commitment:

MY FIGHTING FAITH

If we accept life as a struggle, and history as the continuing struggle for freedom, we realize the necessity of revolution, and from that, the imperative of a militant creed.

I belive, therefore, in the necessity of revolution as an instrument of individual and social change, and that its end is the advancement of human freedom.

I believe that only a reactionary resistance to radical change will make a Jacobin, or armed, revolution inevitable, but that in a democratic society, revolution is of necessity constitutional, peaceful, and legal.

I believe that while we have utilized the Presidential powers to dismantle the bloody revolution and its rightist, communist and other apparatus, we must not fail our people; we must replace the bloody revolution with the authentic revolution — liberal, constitutional and peaceful.

I believe in democracy as the continuing revolution; that any other revolution is unjustified if it cannot meet the democratic criterion.

I believe that even if a society should be corrupted by an unjust economic or social system, this can be redressed by the people, directly or indirectly, for democracy has the powers of self-rejuvenation and self-correction.

I believe that in this troubled present, revolution is a fact, not merely a potential threat, and that if we value our sacred rights, our cherished freedom, we must wrest the revolutionary leadership from those who would, in the end, turn the democratic revolution into a totalitarian regime.

I believe that in our precarious democracy, which tends towards an oligarchy because of the power of the wealthy few over the impoverished many, there remains a bright hope for a radical and sweeping change without the risk of violence. I do not believe that bloody revolution is either necessary or effective in an existing democracy.

I believe that our realization of the common peril, our complete understanding of our national condition, will unite us in a democratic revolution that will ultimately strengthen our democratic institutions and offer, finally, our citizens the opportunity of making the most and the best of themselves.

I believe that democracy is the revolution, that it is today's revolution.

This is my fighting faith.

In his Radio-TV address to the nation on September 21, 1973, one year after the proclamation of martial law and therefore one year of the New Society, President Marcos said:

> With God's clear light and our people's vigorous support, we invoked the powers of the Constitution to meet the threats to our Republic and build a New Society.
>
> Man in his presumption has always claimed the advances we call civilization as his handiwork.
>
> Often we disregard the unknown intervention of God and the logic and consequence of history and events.
>
> This was true in the past. It is true now of what we proudly point to as the most miraculous achievements we ascribe to the New Society.
>
> Many of the advances that we can list down are but the logical consequences of the decisive rapture from an old and stricken society.
>
> As soon as the moral and political decision was made, the rebirth followed.

My friends, as we all very well know, the forces that make a people, or a nation, or an individual great are numerous. Not one single isolated force or circumstance or quality is responsible in bringing about any kind of desired change nor a revolution for that matter. The Philippine experience has time and again demonstrated this fact: that all our revolutions have not been propelled by a single factor or a combination of factors to the utter exclusion of the spiritual and the moral factors. Hence, by and large, our present revolution, that of saving the Republic and building a New Society is also the Spirituo-Moral Revolution of our Time.

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME[*]

By Primo L. Tongko

There is no more timely or relevant subject to discuss nowadays particularly in our country than the subject assigned to me, namely: The Political Revolution of our Time.

Revolution in general is not only an interesting subject, oftentimes it is nerve wracking and awe-inspiring, because it instills fear in the hearts and in the minds of those who do not know enough, much less comprehend its true meaning, scope and significance. Hence, whenever the word revolution is mentioned, particularly political revolution, many become nervous and fearful as if the end of the world is already at hand.

Perhaps such a reaction is understandable if we will bear in mind or recall the traditional meaning or concept of revolution in the past, which had been usually accompanied by violent and bloody struggles causing the wanton destruction of property and the loss of thousands and even millions of lives, particularly those that belong to the upper strata of society. Such had been the case with the infamous French Revolution, after which, according to historians, two years were required before the Palace of Versailles could be cleansed of the blood that freely flowed during the struggle to overthrow the ruling class. So also with the Russian Revolution that took place during World War I, which according to reliable accounts caused the death of almost twelve million Russians including all the members of the **Romanoff Dynasty** and with very few exceptions, all the members of the nobility. The American Revolution of 1776 and the Philippine Revolution of 1896 may also be characterized as similarly bloody but not as violent as those of the French and the Russian.

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[*] Paper read at the Annual Seminar on History of the Philippine Historical Association held at the San Beda College, Manila, December 1, 1974.

The above-mentioned revolutions were cited as typical examples of what President Marcos in his book entitled **Today's Revolution: Democracy**, designated as the Jacobin type of revolution because they were accompanied by all kinds of violence, hatred, and bloodshed. By contrast, **Today's Revolution** is characterized as liberal or peaceful or constitutional. This paper will therefore present in as brief and concise a manner, two concepts of revolution namely: the classical or the Jacobin or the violent, and the modern which may be called the Marcosian or liberal or constitutional concept.

At the very start it must, however, be understood that not all revolutions in the past had always been bloody. Not all necessitated the overthrow of the ruling monarchs or dictators by death through violent means as in the case of French and Russian Revolutions that were already mentioned because there was an instance when a revolution was bloodless, the typical example of which being the English Revolution of 1688. It simply transferred the political power of the government from the ruling monarch and the nobility to Parliament or to the representatives of the people, because the aristocrats realized that it was better to lose their privileges than to lose their heads. This type of revolution had the same effect as the bloody ones already cited in that it also transferred the source of power to rule from the hands of a few members of the nobility to the hands of the many — the people. Such is the true meaning of political revolutions, that is, the sudden and radical change in the source of power of government from the monarch to the people or their elected representatives.

Ordinarily speaking, it was inconceivable to talk of revolution in the Philippines before the institution of Martial Law through Proclamation 1081, because in a country like ours that was once singled out by the late President Harry S. Truman, as a "show window of democracy in Asia," to speak of revolution would had been tantamount to a commission of suicide on the part of the people. This is due to the fact that in a democracy where the people are considered sovereign or the uncrowned kings because they are the government themselves, against whom would they revolt? Against themselves?

That was why, when the democratic system of government appeared from the ashes of the revolutions that caused the downfall of absolute and tyrannical monarchies, it was considered the greatest contribution in the evolution of political institutions, because it was supposed to have abolished revolution as a means of instituting sudden or radical changes in the established government. So, when under such form of government the people are confronted by controversial issues they have developed the attitude of agreeing to disagree by using ballots instead of bullets in settling their disputes and remain as friends afterwards by observing the spirit of tolerance, fairplay and sportsmanship in a free, honest and peaceful election.

Such is the very ideal and true essence of democracy. But as all students of government know every system of government undergoes a period of degeneration. Thus, monarchy deteriorates into tyranny, aristocracy into obligarchy and democracy into mobmocracy. When such stage of degeneration in any system of government ensues, it resorts to any remedy because any creature or institution given a chance to exist in this world has been provided by their Creator certain ways or built-in devices to preserve themselves against destructive forces to assure their survival, in the struggle for existence.

In order to prevent Philippine democracy from deteriorating into a mobmocracy or anarchy under the Old Society, both the old and new constitutions empowered the Chief Executive or Prime Minister as the case may be to "suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or place the Philippines or any part thereof under Martial Law," in case of "invasion, insurrection, or rebellion or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it." That was the background and justification for the issuance of Proclamation No. 1081 to preserve the Republic and institute reforms through peaceful, orderly, and systematic methods. It is at this stage of Philippine history that a study and analysis of the Marcosian concept of democratic revolution is not only timely but necessary.

When President Marcos, in his now very famous book entitled **Today's Revolution: Democracy**, introduced his liberal concept of revolution, he revised and deviated from the old concept of revolution which needed resort to violence in order to effect a change in the government. Such statement should, however, not be interpreted to mean or be taken in the same vein as the People's Republic of China used to accuse Russia of revisionism or deviationism, because since the time of Premier Khrushchev, Russia has adopted the policy of co-existence with the western world by no longer using violent means or bloody revolutions in spreading communism to the other countries of the world.

In other words, what President Marcos is advocating is a deviation from the traditional method of instituting radical changes in meeting the demands of the people particularly the masses, by not resorting to the use of force or violence any more, but by the people themselves led by the officials in the different branches of the government whom they have chosen and in whose hands they have reposed their trust and confidence. Under this set up, the government does not conceive of itself as the head, the crown, the apex of the national community. It is not at the summit but at the very center surrounded by the people to whom it proposes and whom it leads by standing in front of them but not above them. Under this arrangement, the masses do not initiate revolution, they only respond to the call of leadership or a revolutionary minority. It is for this reason that the common expression, "Revolt of the Masses," is quite misleading because all revolutions have always been initiated by the few radical and courageous leaders, who by virtue of their courage, vision and superior knowledge succeed in gathering around them supporters to carry out their aspirations not through ordinary reforms but by radical means to effect changes in the political, economic, and social aspects of the people's life. Under a government that is not democratic such incitement of the masses leads to the use of violence but under the Marcosian concept resort to violence is already considered obsolete. The changes effected are only characterized as revolutionary in the sense that they are radical departures from, or very marked improvements of, existing conditions that had withstood the onslaught of agitation for reforms. In other words, the simple meaning of the Marcosian concept of revolution is to move the frontiers of social, political, and economic progress much, much farther than ever before achieved, particularly for the masses or the less advantaged people, not by the use of force or resort to violence.

To bolster and make more emphatic the true meaning and significance of the Marcosian concept of revolution in actual practice, the following may be cited as examples:

1. The very institution of martial rule through Proclamation 1081. From the very beginning of such a rule, it has been characterized as Martial Law Philippine style because the means and methods that had been used from its very inception up to now were very different from the ordinary way by which such rule had been administered in other countries. This was manifested in the

utter lack of a display of force to intimidate the people into submission.

2. Upholding and maintaining the superiority of civilian over military authority from the very beginning to the present, without stopping the operation of the civil government and without cessation of the ordinary functions of the courts of law except in very few specified cases.

3. The effective use of the army not as an instrument of oppression in times of stress and emergency but as the guardian and protector of the people. Under other forms of government the army has been used to tyrannize and oppress the people to perpetuate an absolute and oppressive ruler.

4. In order to put into reality the true meaning and significance of social justice particularly to the masses, land reform has been instituted, which since time immemorial has always been only a dream of the oppressed tenants. Most of the landlords who perpetuated feudalism were the politicians who only paid lip service to social justice and capitalized on it and used it to stay in power.

5. Even the so-called traditional indolence of the Filipino people that had been attributed to the bad influence and examples of our former foreign rulers, particularly the Spaniards, and the average high temperature of Philippine climate had been greatly overcome and belied, as proven by the success of the Green Revolution and the Masagana 99 movement which, together, may make our country not only self-sufficient but an exporter of food.

6. Even the traditional foreign policy of our country has been revolutionized. While before, the foreign policy of our country had been dictated by and tied to the apron strings of the United States, we have now markedly deviated from it by embarking on an independent foreign policy. The best examples are our recognition or adoption of friendly relationships with socialistic countries in Europe and in Asia and our vote against Israel whether on the oil crisis or on the Palestinian issue.

7. Even in the attitude or policy towards political offenders, who in order to escape prosecution in their home country seek asylum in foreign countries particularly in the United States, with whom we do not have an extradition treaty, our government, through the President and the First Lady, has offered the olive branch of amnesty,

the latest example of which was extended to Atty. Lechoco, who in spite of the grave offense that he had committed against the person of the premier ambassador of the country and a close relative of the First Lady, was assured that he would not be prosecuted by the Philippine Government.

8. Cultural and educational reforms particularly the institution of the N.C.E.E. to all graduates of high schools. For so many years in the past, in spite of the recognition and acceptance by all responsible leaders of the country of the great importance and necessity of requiring such examination to reduce the big number of white collar job seekers and meet the great demand for manpower in the fast growing and developing industries of the country, it was never given, because it was used as a political football among politicians, many of whom were either owners, administrators, or stockholders of private educational institutions that might be adversely affected by such an entrance examination.

These are a few but very typical examples of the radical changes that the New Society, in accordance with the Marcosian concept of revolution, has effected to carry out the political, economic, social, and cultural progress of the country, which until recently was considered beyond the realm of realization. They were all carried out not by the use of the sword, the symbol of violence, but by using the pen in issuing proclamations, decrees and letters of instruction, which proved very convincingly that, indeed, the pen is mightier than the sword. Therefore, so long as we have the pen, and President Marcos has proved his mastery of using it, in pushing farther and farther the frontiers of progress of the country, not by force or violence but through radical means, revolutiontionary changes will continue under the New Society.

OUR HISTORY*

By Rafael Palma

Just as the main stream of a river is nurtured at its source by various springs, so love of country to be intelligent and devoted and not crude or merely sentimental, must be enriched from different sources of knowledge. Among these sources that nourish and intensify one's love of country is History. From childhood we should study the history of our country, for it places within our reach the development of human events that have occurred on our own soil, or in which men of our own race were the doers of deeds. Through our history, we find the spiritual bond that links us with our forefathers; we witness their struggles and triumphs and defeats; we visualize their thoughts and deeds; and, through their actions, we recognize our own individuality as a nation, separate and distinct and individual in the Universe.

It is said that the function of history is to reveal the truth. History should, therefore, bring out the bare facts and record them uncolored by passion or bias. As such, history has always been looked upon as life's great teacher, because it faithfully narrates the long and varied experiences of nations, points out their errors and blunders, analyzes the underlying causes of their rise and fall. But history does more than this. It does not only record the past and the potentialities of a race, but it is a guide to, and warning of, the future. It serves to teach a people what to do in each stage of its development in the light of its past experiences. So when a country is confronted with grave problems, it must inquire the proper solution from the pages of its history. Consequently, in the midst of grave doubts that assail us at present, in the midst of the misgivings and vexations attendant upon the pressing problems of the day, especially the problems that bear on the economic development of our country, we should seek light and inspiration from the teachings of our own history.

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*Address delivered at the weekly convocation of the University of the Philippines, in November, 1929.

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Let us, therefore, review briefly the most decisive events recorded in the pages of our history and which show that a people like ours, who have fought and survived, multiplied and advanced in spite of adversities and overwhelming odds, should have more faith in themselves and should, fearless and unhesitating, follow the path to which destiny has led them.

When the Philippines was discovered by Magellan, our country was divided into small communities politically independent from one another. Ethnographically, the people of those communities were homogeneous, and their religious and political institutions, and even their social structures, were identical. In fact, these communities, as found by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, resembled, in many respects, the feudal states of Europe of the Middle Ages. Chiefs, called **rajahs** or **datus**, ruled dominions varied in size, the more extensive ones consisting of tributary states under petty chieftains under oath of allegiance to recognize their vassallage and to pay tributes regularly and to send fighting men and provisions to their head **rajahs** in times of war. There existed also, as in Medieval Europe, various social classes; namely, the nobles (**maginoos**), the freemen (**timawas**) and the serfs or slaves (**alipin**). Feudal-like. was also the system of land ownership. The serfs (**kasamas**) were considered chattels as much as the land which they tilled, and over them their respective chiefs had absolute power. Finally, to make the resemblance more complete, jealousies, long standing feuds, and internecine wars were not uncommon among the chiefs, such as the old rivalries between chiefs Lapulapu of Maktan and Humabon of Cebu, which culminated in the intervention and subsequent death of Ferdinand Magellan.

Personally, I believe that, had those small political units been left to themselves, they would have in due time organized themselves into larger states; for out of the constant jealousies and feuds some great overlords could have emerged capable of subjugating the smaller or weaker groups and of uniting them into a greater political entity. The state of growth of those communities required a greater centralizing power strong enough to do away with the factional and divisional tendencies, and the Spanish conquest, far from retarding their progress toward that end, greatly accelerated it by effecting their solidarity and supplying the strength they had lacked. The advent of the Spanish power put an end to the state of violence prevalent at that time, and gave to the **rajahs** or **datus** the assurance of safety so essential to peace among themselves. It was thus that the so-called Spanish conquest of the Philippines was effected with the least bloodshed and cruelties, which was not the case in the Spanish colonization of America. From the oppression by their own chiefs to that of the foreigner there was very little difference, so that our people, not feeling the change to any perceptible degree, easily placed themselves under the power of the Spaniards.

Spanish colonization in the Philippines was characterized by the chief policy of converting the natives to Christianity. Its motive, therefore, was not to exploit the Islands but to save the souls of their inhabitants. The Spanish government here was an adaptation of what it was in Europe in the sixteenth century — the strongest champion of Catholicism in an effort to check the rapid spread of the Reformation. It was natural, therefore, that the first missionaries who came to these Islands did all they could to wipe out paganism and to introduce the Catholic religion among the native inhabitants. The Spaniards gave the natives not only a new religion but also a new system of government; taught them new social usages and practices, and a new language; built churches, schools, **ayuntamientos** and other public edifices all over the country, and did everything possible to change the mentality and the customs of the people. What did the Filipinos do? Compelled as they were to choose between resistance to the impositions of the new masters or acceptance of them, they realized that the latter alternative was the lesser of the two evils. A great majority of those who lived in the plains submitted to the new domination, although many others fled to the interior in order to join the mountain dwellers, placing as much distance as possible between themselves and the new civilization. This explains the existence even today of the different stages of culture among the population groups of the Philippines; for while those who accepted the Christian faith adopted the forms and practices of a more advanced culture, those who by diverse methods resisted the influences of that culture, like the pagans of the North and Mohammedans of the South, have remained more or less stagnant in their primitive state.

For over two centuries, the Spanish government gave no stimulus to the material and economic welfare of the country. From the early years of conquest, its policy had been to isolate these Islands from the rest of the world except by way of Acapulco, in order to safeguard the spread of the new faith. Agriculture suffered from the policy of reserving the best lands for Royal or private concessions (**encomiendas**) or granting them to the religious orders for their support. Although some of the loyal chieftains (**maginoos**) were allowed to retain their lands and to receive privileges and favors from the Spanish government, nevertheless it was next to impossible for them to cultivate their fields successfully because the great majority of their farm hands had passed to the control of the Spanish **encomenderos.** Neither did foreign trade prosper, for while, before the conquest, this was considerable between the Philippines and the neighboring countries such as China, Japan, and Siam, this trade declined from year to year as a result of the many obstacles and restrictions imposed by the laws for the benefit of the merchants of Seville and Cadiz who wanted to perpetuate their monopoly of the trade with America.

As an example of this restrictive policy, the fact may be mentioned that "New Spain, Peru, and other Spanish possessions in the Americas were specifically prohibited from engaging in commerce with China and with the Philippine Islands up to the time when the Royal Cedula of 1593 allowed this city (Manila) to send Asiatic goods to New Spain, provided the shipments were in charge of passengers from said Manila, and under no circumstances were they to be sent by consignment to natives or residents of Mexico. Furthermore, not more than one ship of about 300 tons, the cargo of which was not to exceed the value of ₱250,000 could be sent every year to Acapulco. This Royal Cedula also provided that on the return trip from Acapulco, the ship should not bring (to the Philippines) a sum of money more than ₱500,000. No one could bring in, or order to be brought in, from Acapulco silver wrought in table wares or in any other form, in order to prevent the merchants from bringing in through other means more than the ₱500,000.00 authorized, and if any one should desire to bring his own money into the Philippines he had to file a bond guaranteeing that he would reside in these Islands for a term of not less than eight years." (T. H. Pardo de Tavera, **Reseña Historica de Filipinas**, **pag. 42.**)

The Filipinos became impoverished not only as a result of the change of sovereignty and the subsequent disturbances but also because of the abuses and depradations committeed by the Spanish **encomenderos**, officials, and soldiers, who considered the Filipinos as profitable objects of exploitation, notwithstanding the order of the King to the contrary. The **encomienda** system and the inequitable distribution of lands encouraged the existence of two classes — the exploiters and the exploited, or those who enriched themselves without performing any manual labor and those who were forced to do all the work in the fields. Farm labor was considered appropriate only for serfs and slaves, and was therefore despised.

Commerce fared no better. The wholesale trade with Acapulco, monopolized as it was by the officials of the government — civil, military, and ecclesiastical — never was within the reach of the masses. On the other hand, retail business was controlled by the Chinese, and since these were not Christians and accordingly were looked down upon and maltreated, it never occurred to the Filipinos to share their occupation, much less engage in competition with them.

The general indigence prevalent among the masses, far from being remedied, was strengthened and stimulated by the ascetic teachings of the times, which exalted poverty and constantly placed before those who had been despoiled of their fortunes the blessings of an after life as the reward for their earthly resignation and sufferings. Wealth was regarded as something undesirable, and was often linked with that passage in the Bible which said that if it was hard for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, it was harder for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Consequently the people assumed an attitude of utter indifference toward material well-being and of contentment with a state of need and penury, of satisfaction with a hand-to-mouth existence, in the hope that God would provide for the morrow as He provides for the lilies of the valley and the inhabitants of the air.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding those untold hardships there were some few Filipinos who, abler or more ambitious than the rest and desirous of being counted among the privileged class, succeeded in amassing wealth through self-denial and by dint of hard labor, thus freeing their children from the necessity of working with their hands for a living. These were the men who were able to have their sons educated in the colleges of Manila and who in due time increased in number and in influence.

The day came when Spain could no longer continue the policy of economic and intellectual isolation in the Philippines. By the middle of the eighteenth century steps were taken to promote the material development of the country. In 1765, after the British occupation of Manila, Charles III ordered the establishment of direct communication between Cadiz and Manila, and thereupon a frigate annually came, carrying European goods on its way here and the Philippine and Asiatic products on the return voyage. Since the products of the Philippines were few and hardly yielded enough to pay the expenses of the trip, the Economic Society of Friends of the Country and the Royal Company of the Philippines were established in 1781 and 1785, respectively, to aid in the development of our natural resources and to increase production.

With the distribution of liquid capital among the people for the cultivation of indigo, cotton, mulberry trees, sugar cane, and spices, there came the most important factor which helped to bring about the country's prosperity. As early as 1809, an English company had managed to establish itself in Manila, and after 1814 others — English, American, German, and French — were similarly organized. In 1830 by virtue of a treaty between England and Spain, Manila was thrown open to foreign commerce; other ports were established shortly after the middle of the century. With the coming of the foreign merchants, more capital became available and commerce and agriculture were greatly stimulated. But better than these trade advantages was the interchange of ideals with Europe which brought to our country a new vision of the world and its progress, which in turn intensified the desire of the people for political and economic reforms. The opening of the Suez Canal brought additional impetus to the intellectual and material progress of the Filipinos, and thereafter a few of our young men went to Europe to complete their studies and to work for greater rights and liberties for our people. The refusal of the Spanish rulers to grant the desired reforms gave rise to a series of events that culminated in the Philippine Revolution. This great upheaval showed clearly that there already existed a feeling of nationality among the Filipinos. The union of the Church and State under the joint control of which the Filipinos lived for over three hundred years, contributed to the creation of that national feeling, and when the Spanish authorities refused to give way to the demands of the country, the latter had to defend their rights by force of arms. Notwithstanding their old regionalism, the existence of dialects, and the traditional jealousies and rivalries of their forefathers, they fought side by side, bound as they were by one sentiment and one common aspiration, and encouraged beyond doubt by the feeling that what they gained in racial and political unity was stronger and much richer than what they had lost with the renunciation of their former beliefs and customs.

This intellectual and political awakening of the Filipinos could not have taken place had it not been for a certain degree of economic development in this country which gave to many of our young men the opportunity to study in Manila and in Europe. And thanks to their education they became imbued with a desire to improve upon the existing conditions and to live under better and more progressive laws. Our campaign in Europe was supported by funds sent from the Philippines for the purpose and indirectly from the pensions sent the student propagandists abroad by their parents. When the Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896, there already existed a well-to-do class, which at the beginning tried to keep aloof, but later became identified with the movement, when war was declared between the United States and Spain.

When the United States extended its sovereignty over the Islands, the Filipinos, impelled by their loyalty to the nation, resisted at once setting the whole country ablaze with a new war. The Filipinos were better prepared for such eventualities than they were at any previous time, because all the regions were united and because the well-to-do joined the movement as a common cause to all. As is now well known, the fortunes of war forced the Filipinos to surrender, but the ideal of independence for which they had fought in the fields of battle was nurtured in their hearts, and ever since the the declaration of peace, the country's constitutional representatives have worked persistently for the realization of this ideal.

Once more before the alternatives of accepting or resisting the influence of an alien sovereignty, the Filipinos realized that it was to their interest to work those elements of a new civilization into their own culture, to strengthen it as it had been enriched by the Spanish influence. The American government gave the Organic Act to our people with its grant of the same rights and the same political and civil liberties as enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; implanted democratic institutions of government; established a popular system of education based on the English language; improved the administration of justice to the end that it become public and less dilatory in all cases; introduced reforms in the fiscal system to enable it to meet all Government necessities by the imposition of higher taxes; effected the separation of church and state — in brief, altered radically the order of existing conditions. Once more the Filipinos went through a moral and material crisis as a result of the devastation of war and the fundamental changes in their political, social, and economic organizations; a crisis which in the beginning was aggravated by the loss of their work animals because of rinderpest, by the presence of locusts, and by drought.

But our people proved equal to the situation and shared, in the midst of a more aggressive civilization, in the work of reconstruction; recovered their economic losses; assimilated the practices and usages of the victors; participated more and more in the administration of public affairs in the Islands; developed initiative in political as well as in economic fields and made a progress so truly wonderful in every respect that it was characterized by the Americans themselves as having no parallel in history.

I have endeavored to trace in a general outline the political and economic development of our country, through the aid of history, in order to draw a number of general conclusions:

First. Our people have demonstrated that they possess physical endurance and strength, that remain unimpaired by violence and dire misfortune. "During the first years of Spanish conquest, the Filipinos were subjected to great sufferings and vexations. They were required to clear forests, to build ships, and to take part in the long expeditions of war. At the same time, they were forced to labor hard in the fields under the lash of the **encomenderos** and to work in the city in the construction of roads and bridges, schools, and churches. They were continually exposed to the depredations of pirates, to all kinds of public calamities and to the ravages of dangerous epidemics that sapped their strength and undermined their vitality. But in spite of all these hardships, the Filipinos survived and multiplied in such a way that they increased within three centuries from 800,000 inhabitants, at most, at the inception of Spanish sovereignty, to about 6,000,000 at the termination of Spanish rule. More admirable than their physical endurance was their moral fortitude, for during those three centuries, changes in the form of government, laws, usages, customs, religions, and beliefs, that should have annihilated their national spirit, did not have this direct effect, but only brought about a vigorous determination to recover their lost rights and liberties. History repeated itself with the advent of American sovereignty. Decimated by war, impoverished and subjugated, the Filipinos received a new form of government, new usages and customs, a new language and new political and religious theories. But despite the great disorder attendant on these radical changes and the disarming influence of the policy of benevolent assimilation, the national spirit of our people remained unalterable and their desire for political independence became more intense with the lapse of time. The population increased from seven million and a half in 1903, when the first census was taken by the Americans, to eleven million and a half at the end of fifteen years. Our country under the two sovereigns has not only demonstrated a power of defence and endurance against elements of absorption and extinction, but it has also consistently advanced its progress and welfare."[1]

Second. That it has not been through isolation but through contact, not through repulsion but through assimilation of new elements of culture, that the Filipino was able to fit himself into every new scheme of things and to withstand the innumerable reverses and mishaps in the history of his country, acquiring with each passing day new experiences and profiting by the examples of others. Japan is an example of a like phenomenon. Much has been said of Japanese nationalism, out of which that country mustered strength and power. Its history tells us, however, that Japan rose to the rank of a world power, not by maintaining a **status quo**, nor by closely guarding its civilization against the influences of foreign civilizations, but by exercising to the fullest extent an assimilative capacity which developed its race, which made it adopt from other nations better ways of living and norms of action to enrich and strengthen its own civilization. Japan has become great and prosperous by ingrafting other cultures into its own and by fortifying its national solidarity with the spirit of internationalism. When Japan realized that the "foreign devils" were ahead in power and wealth, it exerted every effort to discard all primitive institutions, and effected a program of adopting the best in anything foreign in order to improve its civil and military organizations, its systems of education, its commercial and industrial methods and all other elements of its national life.

China on the other hand, by refusing to adopt the more modern methods of Western civilization, by avoiding intellectual contact with other countries, remained for a long time in isolation and had to resort to bloodshed in order to assert its sovereign rights. Through national humiliations and defeats, it finally realized that its great walls could not resist the influence of Western ideas and powers;

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[1] Extract taken from a speech of the writer entitled **Our Country**.

that she had to seek her own salvation, as Japan has done, in a careful study of the modern methods used by her conquerors, and in applying them to her own ways of life.

Third. That our intellectual and cultural progress was made possible during the Spanish regime only because of a certain degree of economic development, for at that time only the rich could send their children to schools and colleges in Manila and in Europe. With the increase in the number of educated people came the general desire to introduce political changes to ameliorate conditions and assure the welfare of the people.

Fourth. That the economic development of our country received decided impetus with the opening of our ports to foreign commerce and with the help of capital that came to finance foreign commercial houses in the Islands at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which gave value and opened a market to our products. That during American occupation the increase of capital brought by American firms has greatly contributed to the growth of agricultural and commercial prosperity, a progress markedly noticeable during the last twenty-five years.

Fifth. That, thanks to the existence of foreign capital and the exportation of agricultural products of the country to foreign markets, the Filipinos have steadily increased their production, thus enabling them, though in a modest way, to share in the commercial activities of the world. That if at any moment this capital is withdrawn at once, the general crisis and commercial paralyzation that the country is bound to suffer, would be unbearable.

With these historical conclusions as starting points, I counsel my people not to fear, not to lose confidence in themselves. They should summon all their courage and strength to obtain, by honest and diligent toil, a control of the land which Providence has placed by inherent right in their hands. They should disregard the petty disadvantages that confront them, always bearing in mind that it is their duty, and not the duty of others, to appropriate and cultivate every inch of the territory that makes up these beautiful Islands, and to exploit the varied riches that lie hidden beneath the soil for the advancement of their culture and civilization. It would be rank cowardice to give up this task and duty. If they should relinquish this task, they would be the only ones to suffer the consequences of their negligence and lack of common sense.

I have always considered our economic development so inescapably linked and coordinated with our political problem that I cannot understand how one can go without the other. Let it be understood that I do not look at the question from the point of view of an American in the sense that economic development should be a prerequisite, a **sine qua non,** to the granting of our political freedom. I believe that, in obedience to the dictates of a sound theory, economy independence should not be regarded as a prerequisite to political freedom, because the contrary is true in the natural order of things. The desire to be free precedes that of our material well-being. Without freedom what encouragement is there for man to work out his fortune and prosperity; what security has he that he shall not be dispossessed of his fortune while he comes under the dependency of another? Rather, I view it from a praticable standpoint as the natural consequence of our desire to be an independent people, to develop our personality, to invigorate our fabric, debilitated by centuries of subjection. Is there room for doubt that in practical life one who wishes to leave the parental roof, to carve out his own destiny, needs to obtain all possible means to insure a decent existence and to drive away the shadow of dependency and the protection of others? What happens with each individual happens with each nation which believes that the time is ripe for it to be independent. In order not to live in disgrace, and to be worthy of themselves and be able to associate decently with the rest of the world, the Filipino people should have the means necessary to keep their house on a foundation stable enough to withstand the fury of the elements and to meet their obligations as a member in the family of nations.

I have always entertained this conviction acquired after years of reflection. In 1911, I published in one of the first issues of **Cultura Filipina** an article entitled "The Struggles of Our Days" in which I said among other things the following:

> We should preach a new gospel to the masses who accept with resignation their poverty and privations. These masses have lived and are still living the simple and patriarchal life of primitive society, with but a few necessities and limited aspirations. They have not felt the urge of riches; neither do they strive to enjoy the material comforts of life. Their work has been commensurate with their needs and their peculiar mode of life reacts on the general conditions of the country. Ours is the duty to stir them up, and to teach them that it is the height of folly to live merely to satisfy the primary

> instincts and that it is necessary to work continuously to improve one's lot and condition having in mind not only his individual demands but also those of the nation.

I was invited to address the graduates of the University of the Philippines at its Commencement Exercises in 1923. I said, among other things, the following:

> This generation seems to have been destined to work out economic achievements, just as the older generation was called to obtain political advancements. We have positively accomplished greater political progress than economic development, when these go side by side. College graduates could render no greater service to their country than by setting their heart upon the most serious, most urgent need of the times: our economic redemption. Our youth should take its part, lead in the solution of economic problems. All seen to be fully aware of the gravity of these problems. Our statesmen are being more and more interested in these problems, though the trouble is that there are only isolated instead of coordinated plans.

The fact is that national life has its demands and international existence has infinitely more. We cannot indulge indefinitely in vain star-gazing and in political reveries. We should see life as it is, in its rugged nakedness, not in illusions and dreams .

What is actually happening is that the problem of our independence is undergoing a transition — from its political to its economic aspect. During the first years of American sovereignty it seemed that, according to American standards, the granting of our independence was premature because it was said that the Filipinos were not capable of maintaining a democracy, having been trained in, and accustomed to, the ways and norms of a monarchy. The Filipinos much against their will submitted to the experiment, confident in their success, and the intelligent exercise of the political powers gradually conferred upon them during the period that transpired seems to have shown that they have learned the art of self-government. Again, in accordance with the same American standards with which we were judged, it is now maintained that our people should show that they have the necessary resources to support an independent existence and to meet their international obligations. Theoretically, this appears to be an injustice and a measure of high-handedness, but from the practical view point, we have to meet the issue anew and and convince the American people that in this respect, we are not ignorant of our responsibilities.

At this juncture, let us carefully consider the means necessary to face the new situation.

Should we maintain the **status quo**, leave things to take their slow natural course, making it impossible for us to meet the needs of our modern life? Or should we allay our fears and scruples and devote ourselves fully to the task of extracting the riches from the resources at our disposal in order to raise our civilization to a level adequate to the needs of our national growth?

Placed between these alternatives, there can be no doubt as to what course we should follow. The Filipino people never desired a condition of stagnancy and retrogression. They have every reason in the world to develop their country in a manner becoming to their aspirations. It is their duty, nay, their pledge of honor. If they should prove recreant, the whole world would laugh at them for desiring to cast a statue with feet of clay. But it is not to please other people nor to carry out the plans of others that we should cast off our apathy and become more productive. It is for our own good, for our own preservation and safety that we should move the wheel of progress and increase by all possible means our economic resources.

Everybody, even the most skeptical, accepts the fact that we have mounting necessities to satisfy: that for lack of resources, hygiene, elementary education, our railroads and highways, the irrigation system, the means of maritime transportation and other elements vital to modern life, have not received the impetus that progress demands; that in the absence of local industries, we import numerous articles which we can very well produce here in great abundance, such as eggs, rice, canned fruits and fishes, refined sugar, cotton, paper, etc., that our **barrio** life lacks the attractions and incentives to retain the hands that it needs but that are forced to emigrate to other lands, lured by high wages and decent existence; that conditions in the towns are sadly antiquated, and reveal how primitive still are the ways of living of their inhabitants. We do not need to be told that we are not keeping abreast of the progress of the world; that as yet we are considerably behind other nations in industrial and scientific achievements, and that even our agricultural industry proceeds under the most primitive and crude methods. This is the picture in so far as concerns our public life. Now, with respect to the private life, the picture is still gloomier. Very few of our people are moneyed. The great rank and file of our citizens lead a life of abject poverty, of penury that inspires pity and commiseration. They do not have more than is necessary to supply their daily needs; the morrow is ever to them a question mark and a constant worry. To see people undernourished and poorly clad is a common sight in our barrios. Whoever would judge and grade our civilization on the social level of our peasants and laborers would form an idea not altogether complimentary to our people.

We cannot strengthen our economic life until we free this great mass of citizens from the attitude of indifference which keeps them satisfied with the hand-to-mouth existence of a miserable life. We should arouse in them pride in economic advancement and show them that the way to salvation lies in the acquisition of lands which should serve as the foundation of their well-being and should in time place them in the rank of independent farmers. Unless we interest the masses in improving their status, the structure of our economic development will be weak at its foundation, because the masses everywhere constitute the strength upon which the prosperity and greatness of any nation rest. There is need of opening their minds to the advantages of modern life, and of presenting before them a higher standard of living, a higher measure of prosperity which they should attain for their own as well as their country's good.

"As long as our municipalities do nothing outside of their routine program of maintaining public peace and order and of establishing schools, and as long as they do not realize the need of improving physical conditions within their jurisdiction so as to induce city people to live there, they cannot prevent the constant exodus of our population from the rural districts to the cities.

"The municipality is the corner-stone upon which the strength of our national life rests. The municipality must offer to its residents particularly to its school-bred citizens, such attractions and facilities, as playing grounds and libraries, so that they may not feel the contrasts too keenly between city and country life. Our towns ought to foster local industries so as to prevent the emigration of their laborers; they should do everything in their power to make living conditions bearable and comfortable among the farming class through the maintenance of water and land routes, the system of rural credit, and the suppression of all usurious transactions.

"The Insular Government can facilitate the exploitation of the vast extent of arable lands by clearing away all jungle growth, parcelling them off for convenient cultivation, and then offering them on reasonable terms to all persons who are willing to buy or lease them for farming purposes. One great obstacle which our population finds in the cultivation of these virgin lands lies in the lack of capital; but the Government can readily surmount such an obstacle by offering the lands already cleared and ready for immediate cultivation so that whatever money is thereby saved by individuals may be easily used for the purchase of work animals and agricultural implements."[2]

"Our economic organization has been transformed. We cannot survive with our old methods of life. We have absolutely changed not only the structure of our Government, which is more complicated than formerly, but also our economic structure. We live better and consume more. Even our humblest laborer eats better kind of food and wears better clothes today than he used to. But our productive capacity has not kept pace, in my opinion, with our consuming power. Hence in many sections of the country pangs of misery are beginning to be felt so that expenses of the State have to be reduced in order to avoid burdensome taxation.

"Our public debt has increased within the past few years 200 per cent in order to meet the ever-growing demands of our Government program. This fact should make us pause and think of the additional efforts which we should exert in giving impetus to an increased production which should yield a larger income to the State, and give the latter the funds with which to reduce and pay off gradually the augmented public debt.

"It is incumbent upon us to undertake with firmness and high resolve our economic emancipation as part of our program of political emancipation. To this end there is an imperative need of thoroughly revising our economic policies by making an inventory of the agencies, resources, and instrumentalities within our reach, reducing them into a systematic and efficient organization for the purpose of production and development of the national wealth. There should be coordination from top to bottom. Our educational system has to strengthen those foundations and objectives which are designed to increase production, awakening from the youngest citizen the inclination to farming, business, and other productive industries. Our colleges and universities should re-enforce those branches of science which are essential or useful to production. The youth should be made to see the need of embracing those professions and vocations which make for better and larger production.

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[2] Extracts taken from the commencement speech delivered by the writer at the National University in 1928.

"Capital, which is always timid and reserved, should be organized for great enterprises in our country; the organization of laborers has grown to such an extent that at the moment's notice they impose upon capital and paralyze industries.

"Our legislation has to be less paternalistic than heretofore, in order to allow the development of individual initiative and effort. Except to forestall or put a stop to abuses, both of capital and labor, the undue interference by the Government in the field of business can have but one result which is to foment bitterness and to work confusion upon the natural law of supply and demand.

'There is likewise need of clarifying and defining our attitude and our ideas toward the help of outside capital and labor, upon what conditions and with what safeguards we are willing to invite or to admit them. Both of these we need, and those who cannot see this are simply closing their eyes to simple reality. I do not wish to discuss at length this problem upon which the opinion of our statesmen is so divided. However, I wish to express my personal conviction that we are wasting time setting up bugbears, in relation to the coming of foreign capital and labor from outside, forgetting that our natural resources lie untouched and are of no value to anybody, believing, like a miser, that by hoarding our riches in our coffers we can keep intact the patrimony of future generations.

"To my mind, this is a seriously mistaken viewpoint with which we try to cover up our own neglect or apathy under the guise of patriotism, instead of developing our resources for the benefit of our descendants. If we cannot or will not exploit them, some other nation will covet or take them away from us, and in this case, we shall be guilty of negligence or of incapacity rather than be considered faithful guardians of an inheritance entrusted to our hands.

"It is highly necessary, therefore, that we define in no uncertain terms our relation with outside capital and labor, in such a way as to make them distinctly understand that, provided our political independence is respected and assured, we are ready and willing to insure for all new-comers the benefits and guarantees which they are entitled to demand in return for their help and cooperation in the material development of the country.

"We should bring about a reasonable balance between our high standard of living and of governmental service and our means of production in order fully to meet the economic needs of the nation. This naturally requires larger and more intense effort. There is need of doubling our pace for others have gone ahead of us. This is the only rational program that will bring substantial and permanent results."[3]

To keep things as they are, to leave our economic development to proceed in its slow and inefficient course, will multiply and aggravate the social evils and difficulties over which we grieve at present on account of economic mental backwardness from which poverty springs. There is the same old tendency of considering education as a means of getting the much-coveted diploma or a sinecure against manual labor; the same multitude of parasites and unemployed constantly harassing our public men with no other recommendation than their services to the party. As a result we have a top-heavy and expensive bureaucracy, out of proportion to the income of the Government; incredulous and thoughtless young, drunk with the giddying effects of modernity, losing their cherished attachments to their homes and their respect for their parents, forsaking the work on the farm for the adventure and thrill of seeing distant foreign lands; men, without faith and scruples who, lured by the desire to rise and become rich overnight, leave no stone unturned to attain their nefarious schemes, oblivious of the consequences and of all considerations of rectitude and honor — hence, the estafas and malversations committed in public offices and private commercial houses of which we read daily, and which unfavorably reflect on the honesty and integrity of the Filipinos; robberies and assaults that we often hear perpetrated in our highways and even in the hearts of our cities, giving the idea of our lack of respect for life and property; counterfeiting of currency, adulteration of drugs and even falsification of titles to old and venerable professions; the increase in the number of centers of vice and scandal luring innocent womanhood to a life of shame and disease; all the manifestations and the results of a false luxury and a life of folly and irresponsibility in our days. Rather than to the lack and decay of religious agencies created for religious education and social well-being, which far from being reduced have been increased during American rule, the looseness and license in our customs and the increase in criminality and morality rampant in our communities are principally due to economic causes; and unless we find the means to adequately remedy them, our country is doomed to corruption and ruin.

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[3] Extracts from the commencement speech delivered by the writer at the University of the Philippines in 1923.

There is a very pronounced, though to my mind quite an unfounded, fear that with a program of economic development carried out hastily on a big scale, our country will become the victim of economic absorption. Surely economic absorption will not result from inducing capital to come, which under the present primitive state of our material development, will be rather of positive benefit and help to our country. Rather it will arise principally from our refusal to profit by the new experiments and adventures which this capital may bring to us, from our apathy towards and indifference to new enterprises, or new forms of business ventures, from our lack of desire to face competition, which is life's law in any human aggregation, from our laissez-faire attitude and from our blind adherence to obsolete ideas and antiquated methods.

My impression of the mental attitude of those who fear the introduction of foreign capital is that they have allowed themselves to be captivated by a deceiving picture according to which the Filipinos should be left alone to preserve their natural resources, whether they exploit them or not; that they should be allowed to sleep, at their whims, their long tropical **siesta**, and that they should be left, if they so wish, to put off their task till **mañana** without haste and without alarm, and to live in that Arcadian peace of days gone by under the shadows of giant forests listening to the gentle mur-

murs of crystal fountains. What a blissful idyl, worthy of the patriarchal times! But I believe that if this way of thinking is followed, the awakening for the Filipinos will be terrible; because in this manner it would be easier for the greedy or for the industrious to possess himself more or less surreptitiously of our lands. What is happening right before our eyes with the fishing industry on Manila Bay and with the fertile plains of Davao? A more aggressive, more active, better disciplined race than ours has taken possession of what the Filipinos, if conscious of their duty, could and should have prevented through their own work. Laws will never protect the Filipino people from their own slothfulness and against their own indolence.

As long as the Filipinos have the idea that it is hopeless to compete with people that are richer and better equipped, as long as they can save themselves from all agricultural and commercial competition by the mere fact that this country is theirs, as long as they do not work than heretofore and learn to acquire through work every inch of their own territory, as long as they do not realize that undeveloped riches in their lands are not theirs by exclusive right, they are simply putting over their eyes a veil of illusions and are deceiving themselves.

The nightmare of corporations, combinations, and monopolies by big trusts! Good heavens, what a fright! I have heard it said that countries moan under their yoke, that they have absorbed entire nationalities, that everywhere they have sown revolution, misery, misunderstanding. I am sorry I have not met these gentlemen yet, but I should like to have them come to the Philippines to serve as models for us. The Filipinos are by nature endowed with a great degree of adaptability, and I should like to see them take lessons from those American trusts that have made America the greatest industrial and commercial empire the world has ever known. But I fear that they will not come, because they have nothing to do here. The existence of trusts implies a long process of industrial and manufacturing evolution, and they thrive only in periods of great prosperity in order to curtail the competition among similar plants or industries with a view to having a control or monopoly of certain products. What can they do in a poor country that has hardly any products to sell, that even has to import rice, the most important food article of the Filipinos? What can they monopolize here that is worth the pain?

I am surprised with what is happening in our Legislature, with the convulsion and earthquake that have been caused by a few proposed amendments to our Corporation Law. Many have seen behind these amendments the fearful spectre of the trusts; and they were frightened. Why such fright when nobody knows them here? I see nothing in all this but that strong prejudice which sentimentalizes but reasons not. They have heard of the abuse perpetrated by the trusts in America during the time of Roosevelt and of the difficulties encountered in suppressing their abuses. Without stopping to consider the differences in conditions, they at once apply the case to our country, as though they do not understand that even the most inoffensive person in the world can commit abuses under certain circumstances. We, therefore, cannot correctly conclude that trusts abuse because they are trusts, or that it is not possible to form trusts that know not how to abuse.

The idea that we are a weak and poor nation incapable of fighting against organized foreign capital and that our independence will be forever lost when we allow the introduction of this capital, should be erased from our minds, if we wish to remain true and loyal to our history. We are belittling ourselves too much by pretending to convince ourselves that we cannot fight to survive in a battle where we need not the sword but intelligence, industry, and the will to prosper. We are insulting ourselves when we say that we cannot follow the same path which other people have followed in working out their prosperity and aggrandizement. We are doing ourselves a gross injustice when we pretend to assert that we are made up of inferior clay and when we bring into comparison the fate that has fallen upon other small countries with different historical background and different mental make-up. The greatest harm that this kind of propaganda may bring about its that we discourage our own people in their desire to work and to fight, we infuse into their minds an inferiority complex and make them hostile and intolerant in their attitude towards other people who are willing to help and work with us.

We will not cease to be a poor and weak nation unless we wish to be and are determined to be rich and strong. Nobody can make one rich against his will. Our history tells us that we have a moral and material fibre sufficiently pliable to adapt ourselves to circumstances and sufficiently strong to enable us to overcome difficulties and to take advantage of any situation. Witness the Filipinos who emigrate to other lands—to Hawaii, to Alaska, to the United States—where the struggle for existence is keenest, and where they have to compete with Orientals and white men. The Filipinos there proved themselves capable of self-adaptation to a new atmosphere, to a different climate, to new living conditions, to the stimuli and hardships of competition. In the United States, Filipino labor is appreciated and preferred to that of Italians and Mexicans, and were it not for racial prejudice we would be witnessing a continuous exodus of our laborers invading the vast expanse of the West.

But are we not also witnessing this great trait of adaptability of the Filipino demonstrated in our own country? He has seen here the possibilities of profit from different business enterprises started by Americans and foreigners, and he has taken advantage of these possibilities. During the world war, the oil factories and sugar centrals absorbed the interest and attention of the Filipinos. In other business enterprises such as land and ocean transportation companies, the large moving picture producing and distributing firms, real-estate business, newspaper production in English, Filipino capital has own great possibilities of profitable development. Our tendency is to imitate, not the Chinese and the Japanese but the Americans and Westerners. We must confess that there are among us individuals who have succeeded, but that in general we lack initiative and organization, and that Filipino capital is afraid to engage in new ventures, unless someone else shows the way and demonstrates that they are sure and lucurative investments.

If every Filipino should decide to be rich in a country where unexploited resources and fertile lands abound, why cannot our country be rich and strong within our lifetimes? But, if each Filipino, instead of improving his own condition, limits himself to singing a song on the blessings of poverty without trying to improve his condition, if every Filipino believes that he should leave things in their **status quo**, and pays little attention to the improvement of his lot or does tomorrow what he ought to do today, when shall we cease to be a weak and poor nation?

The entrance of capital, be it American or other, far from causing the dangers which many anticipate, will be a powerful help and protection to the Filipinos, as it has been so far. The capital that comes will not be left idle in the coffers, as that of many Filipinos, but it will be invested in some form of production, or lucrative enterprise. Capital seeks profits. It does not try to enslave any one; because it does not find any benefits thereby. It must seek stability and order. What litttle economic progress there is in the Philippines has been due to the entrance of capital of all nations which came into this country at the opening of our ports to foreign commerce in 1830, and this foreign capital has up to the present time helped the Filipinos because it has been buying and exporting the products of the land and has been importing all that we need for our consumption.

American capital has been here long, and fortunately it is still here; but we do not witness those disastrous consequences which many augured at its arrival. Is American capital holding us by the throat? Has it been strangling us? Citing only the big enterprises like the Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company and the Pacific Commercial Company in Manila, the Canlubang Sugar Company, the San Carlos Mill and the Mindoro Development Company, in the provinces, has any one seen any family being deprived by these corporations of its daily bread, or Filipinos employed by them being converted into peons or slaves? On the contrary, it can be said that each and every one of these corporations has contributed to the material progress of this country: the Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company, giving easy and cheap transportation to the public; the Pacific Commercial Company, exporting our products and paying reasonable prices for them; and the Sugar Centrals, reclaiming from the wilderness small portions of our territory and converting them into beautiful gardens of sugar cane which reflect honor on the country's industry. All these companies employ thousands of Filipino families which receive from them their means of livelihood. If these families know how to save, they will be able later to work alone and make themselves independent. That many of these enterprises collect large profits and enormous returns, we cannot deny. He who works should receive compensation commensurate with his efforts, and the companies that invest their capital should also receive the profits that they deserve by virtue of their investment and the many risks to which their capital is exposed.

But is it true then that our independence will become but a mythical legend, a dream not to be realized, when we have abundant capital to work out our economic emancipation? It is said that every dollar invested in the Philippines is a nail in the coffin of our independence, because every American who invests here automatically becomes a rabid champion of retention of the Islands by the United States. Unfortunately, the activities of the American Chamber of Commerce have on many occasions apparently proven this assertion, but world progress has been made possible only through struggling against human evils and making them serviceable to the good. Evil combines with good in human nature, and humanity must move on through sufferings and sacrifice, ever seeking new avenues and wiser courses of action for improving present conditions.

I do not expect the American people will ever decide the question of independence in accordance with the wishes or the interests of American capitalists who have made investments in this country. But if they should do so and if they should not redeem the pledges given to us we should not be in a worse condition than the one we are in today; for at least there would be more prosperity and less poverty in this country. If we had the assurance that by remaining poor we should be given our independence, I believe that every one would gladly make the sacrifice of choosing to be poor. However, if there is no such guarantee, if we are told that a stable government means something more than a government that is able to maintain peace and order, more than a government based on the suffrage of its citizenry — a government that has adequate means to meet its international obligations, why should we not try to augment the wealth of this country, so that we may be able to demand the fulfillment of a promise based on conditions imposed upon us? The chances of getting our independence now without economic development are not greater than with that development. Nor will the chances be less with such development than without it. But whatever may be the emergencies of the future, at least we shall have the satisfaction of having faithfully fulfilled our duty towards our future generations and it is for them to choose their line of action. I take it that every generation has the duty to improve the present legacy and not simply to preserve the legacy received from his ancestors in the form in which it received it; and this duty as far as we are concerned consists in extending our control over unoccupied territories, over wealth untouched and unextracted for the benefit of man, so that we may be able to transmit this legacy improved and not simply intact. At least we shall have done something to diminish the helplessness that afflicts us by reason of our economic weakness and we shall have given an example of industry and loyalty of duty. And perhaps the light of liberty may dawn on some future generations; because there can be no enduring domination based on violence when the people are strong in ideals and means. The sad fact is that we have twice lost our independent existence — first in the sixteenth century and second in the nineteenth century — because of our economic weakness; and that is why those who, by their preaching and mental attitude, try to perpetuate that weakness by keeping the Filipinos in a state of civilization inferior to that of the rest of the world, render a poor service to the cause of the country.

Let us keep our idealism forever burning. Idealism is the moral force that lifts us to the stars, far removed from the noise and dust of the earth. Let us redouble our faith in the justice of our cause. Ideals will continue to move the world while the sword may lose its power and the pen may rust. But for ideals to live and to be attained, they need food, clothes, shelter, and all that money can buy; they must come in contact with the rugged realities of life, descend from the region of mystery and dreams, to mingle with the miseries and tears of man; because ideals are intended for men and must be realized by men.

RAFAEL PALMA AS SCHOLAR AND HISTORIAN*

By Gregorio F. Zaide

About four centuries ago Erasmus (1469-1536), the renowned "Prince of Humanists," called his intimate friend, Sir Thomas More of England "A Man For All Seasons." The latter richly deserved the prestigious title, for he was a man of versatile gifts. Aside from being a sagacious Chancellor of England and trusted adviser of King Henry VIII, he was a talented scholar and man-of-letters, a learned lawyer, and a person of noble character. In other words, he was a rare individual who possessed the two sterling attributes of goodness and greatness. Goodness is equated with nobility of character and greatness, with outstanding achievements in war or peace. A man may be good, but not great; he may be great but not good. Only a few illustrious men in our country are good and, at the same time, great. They deserve to be ranked with Sir Thomas More as "A Man For All Seasons."

One of these few good and great Filipinos is Dr. Rafael Palma (1874-1939). Endowed with an exemplary character, he was modest and generous, energetic and industrious, kind and cheerful, intelligent and talented, patriotic and courageous, morally upright and incorruptible, passionately devoted to God and country, and a model husband and a good father. Despite his having held many important government positions (assemblyman, commissioner, senator, secretary of the Interior, president of the University of the Philippines, and chairman of the National Council of Education), he died a poor man. Unlike many politicians, he never took advantage of his high office to enrich himself. His private life was clean and exemplary, untarnished by even a whisper of scandal so that it is most worthy of emulation by the youth of our land.

Dr. Palma was also a great man because of his notable achievements in politics, journalism, jurisprudence, literature, and education. He was a fearless newspaperman, an honest public official, a productive legislator, a learned barrister, a gifted writer, and a magnificent educator. It was only in business, where he was a successful failure. In his **Autobiography**, he narrated his financial losses in several business ventures and justified them with a philosophical commentary, "I was not born to be rich."

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*Paper read at the celebration of the centenary of the birth of Rafael Palma, October 24, 1974, held under the auspices of the National Historical Commission, at the National Library Auditorium, Manila.

It was as a many-splendored scholar and historian that Dr. Palma truly attained the zenith of his greatness. He was born with the proper qualifications for a scholarly career, such as superior intelligence, literary ability, prodigious patience for investigation and research, judicious judgment, independent mind, and passionate love for truth.

Palma first discovered his talent for writing in 1893 when he was a law student at the University of Santo Tomas. That year, upon the request of his friends (Epifanio de los Santos, Fernando M. Guerrero, Jose C. Zulueta, and others), he participated in a literary contest sponsored by the Ateneo de Manila, his alma mater. To his surprise and joy, his entry entitled "The Spanish Literature in the Golden Age" won a prize which consisted of a two-volume book, **The Great Arcanes of the Universe**, written by Padre Pesch.

After the closure of the University of Santo Tomas, owing to Dewey's victory at Manila Bay (May 1, 1898), Palma secretly left Manila and joined the libertarian struggle against Spain. He became a member of the editorial staff of General Antonio Luna's **La Independencia**, whose first issue came out on September 3, 1898. "My articles at the very beginning," he said, recalling his experiences as a revolutionary journalist, "were mostly short stories and articles on social education to bring into the public consciousness the principles of the new regime. Later, I wrote editorials which were accepted and which encouraged me a great deal."

After General Luna's death in June 1899, Palma became editor of **La Independencia**. But this did not last long because of the collapse of the First Philippine Republic. After the demise of the newspaper, Palma returned to Manila.

On September 3, 1901, he founded the patriotic newspaper, **El Renacimiento**, of which he was the first editor. He wrote vigorous editorials against a rival newspaper, **La Democracia**, the organ of the pro-American Federal Party of Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera. After his marriage with Carolina Ocampo on February 1, 1902, he resigned as editor in order to practice law and support his new family.

In December 1902, because of his great admiration for Dr. Rizal who had sacrificed his life for Filipino freedom, Palma took part in a literary contest on the role of Rizal in Philippine history, sponsored by the International Club of Manila. He easily won the contest, receiving the cash prize of P200 for his entry. His victory gave him considerable prestige as a Rizalist in Manila's literary circles.

In succeeding years, despite his busy activities, first as a practicing lawyer and later as a politician and government official, he continued his research studies on Philippine history and culture. Evidently, he found greater joy and fascination in historico-literary pursuits than in his hectic law practice and in turbulent politics.

In 1921 his stirring article, "The Struggle of Our Days," which appeared in the **Cultura Filipina**, he urged the emancipation of our poverty-ridden masses from their economic bondage. Among other things, he said:

> We should preach a new gospel to the masses who accept with resignation their poverty and privations. These masses have lived and are still living the simple and patriarchal life of primitive society, with but a few necessities and limited aspirations. They have not felt the urge of riches; neither do they ever strive to enjoy the material comforts of life. Their work has been commensurate with their needs and their peculiar mode of life reacts on the general conditions of the country. Ours is the duty to stir them up, and to teach them that it is the height of folly to live merely to satisfy the primary instincts and that it is necessary to work continuously to improve one's lot and condition having in mind not only his individual demands but also those of the nation.

The following year (1912) the **Cultura Filipina** published Palma's pamphlet titled "**Voces de Aliento**," containing his delightful literary articles and later the **Alma Mater** was published, which is a compendium of his thought-provoking essays on education, sociology, and culture. As Don Jaime C. de Veyra, his intimate friend and colleague of the pen, commented: "Do you want to know Palma as a litterateur? — Read "**Voces de Aliento**." Do you want to know him as a thinker and educator? — Read "**Alma Mater.**" As the years rolled by, his brilliant mind and pen produced more historico-literary works. Among them were the following: **Our Campaign for Independence** (1921), with copious annotations by Don Teodoro M. Kalaw; **Our Country** (1926); **The Woman and the Right to Vote** (1927); **The Revolt of Youth** (1928); **Our Age** (1929); **The New Mentality** (1929); **Our History** (1929); **The University and the People** (1931); **Historia**

de Filipinas (1935); and **Biografia de Rizal** (1938). It is interesting to note that in August 1939, three months after Palma's death, **The Philippine Social Science Review** (faculty organ of the University of the Philippines) issued a commemorative Rafael Palma Number (Vol. XI, No. 3) containing his brief biographical sketch and eight of his widely read articles.

In **Our Campaign for Independence**, Palma discussed the historical background of the Philippine independence movement, the role played by Quezon, Osmeña, and Harrison in it, and the sending of the First Philippine Independence Mission to Washington, D.C. in 1919, of which he was one of the members. "The campaign for independence," he recounted with authority,

> ...has been persistent and determined, in the face of many discouragements and adversities and in spite of the staunch opposition of those who would have the Islands retained indefinitely. The perseverance and the zeal with which the campaign was carried on shows how deeply rooted in the minds of the Filipino people is the desire to lead an independent life. In the political history of the years of American tutelage, this compaign for freedom will rightly occupy a prominent place and the ability displayed in the direction of the campaign as well as the good fortune and patriotism of those to whom was entrusted the principal part in making it . . . will stand out in bold relief.

Amazingly, Palma, of somber mien and serious mind, waxed poetic and romantic in **Our Country**, a historico-geographical treatise. "Our country," he rhapsodized with sentimental pride, "is one of the most beautiful and poetic in the world. Her geographical composition is unique. There is no other nation that can boast of such a large variegated group of islands.... Our country's scenic panoramas consisting of vast plains, canopied by the blue heavens and studded with verdant hills, are wonderful to behold, and have nothing to envy in the most famous vistas in the world."

Like the swing of the pendulum, he returned to his usual mood of philosophical thinking in **Our History**, where he pontificated on the value of studying history, for it nourishes and intensifies "one's love of country." With the dictum of André Maurois, he asseverated:

> From childhood we should study the history of our country, for it places within our reach the development of human events that have occurred in our own soil, or in which men of our own race were the doers of deeds. Through our history we find the spiritual bond that links us with our forefathers; we witness their struggles and triumphs

> and defeats; we visualize their thoughts and deeds; and, through their actions, we recognize our own individuality as a nation, separate and distinct and individual in the Universe.

Moreover, he added:

> As such, history has always been looked upon as life's great teacher, because it faithfully narrates the long and varied experiences of nations, points out their errors and blunders, analyzes the underlying causes of their rise and fall. But history does more than this. It does not only record the past and the potentialities of a race, but it is a guide to, and warning of, the future. It serves to teach a people what to do in each stage of its development in the light of its past experiences. So when a country is confronted with grave problems, it must inquire into the proper solution from the pages of history.

According to Palma, the study of Philippine history gives us the following conclusions:

> First. Our people have demonstrated that they possess physical endurance and strength, that remain unimpaired by violence and dire misfortune.
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> Second. That it has not been through isolation but through contact, not through repulsion but through assimilation of new elements of culture, that the Filipino was able to fit himself into every new scheme of things and to withstand the innumerable reverses and mishaps in the history of his country, acquiring with each passing day new experiences and profiting by the examples of others.
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> Third. That our intellectual and cultural progress was made possible during the Spanish regime only because of a certain degree of economic development, for at that time only the rich could send their children to schools and colleges in Manila and in Europe. With the increase in the number of educated people came the general desire to introduce political changes to ameliorate conditions and assure the welfare of the people.
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> Fourth. That the economic development of our country received decided impetus with the opening of our ports to foreign commerce, and with the help of capital that came from foreign commercial houses in the islands at the beginning of the nineteenth century.
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> Fifth. That, thanks to the existence of foreign capital and the exportation of agricultural products of our country to foreign markets, the Filipinos have steadily increased their production, thus enabling them . . . to share in the commercial activities of the world.

Like Mabini, Palma was among the pioneer advocates of woman suffrage in our country. In his Rizal Day Address at the Manila Opera House on December 30, 1913, he boldly expressed his support to the woman suffrage movement which was then beginning to percolate in our country. He said:

> According to the old idea, woman's sphere of action should not extend beyond the home, beyond her domestic occupations, and she should be nothing but the glory and delight of her husband and her children. This is not right. Like man, woman is born and lives in society, and she cannot and must not remain indifferent to social distress and suffering. To think otherwise would be selfishness and aberration and would leave society a prey to much suffering which only the hand of woman can cure or relieve. Let woman be the glory and happiness of the home; but do not forget that she must extend her beneficient action beyond the confines of the household, that she must make the world outside the participant of the wealth of kindness and charity that bountiful Providence has lavished upon her. Just as she shares the duties of life with man within the home. so should she, in public life, share with man the responsibility of remedying and alleviating public distress and misfortune.

Possessed of a keen sense of history, Palma felt that the woman suffrage movement in the Philippines will eventually triumph, for it has already succeeded in other countries of the world. As a perceptive historian, he knew that New Zealand had granted suffrage to the women as early as 1893, being the first country in the world to do so. As time passed by, other foreign countries allowed women to vote, such as Norway (1913), Denmark and Sweden (1914), Great Britain and Holland (1918), and the United States (1920). In 1927, as our women suffragettes were intensifying their demand for the right to vote, Palma, in his **The Woman and the Right to Vote** ardently advocated the granting of woman suffrage in the name of justice and democracy. "Woman suffrage," he said, "spells justice and vindication for the modern woman and we must adopt it forthwith, without unnecessary delay and formalities.... We have to move quickly and anticipate the aspirations of the feminine masses... in order to save us the agitation which otherwise is sure to come and the justice of which will have to be recognized."

Although Palma, by age, education, and experiences, belonged to the old and vanishing generation, he was at heart evermore young. Unlike most people in the approaching twilight of life, he enjoyed the company of the young men and women. He sympathized with their problems, encouraged their beautiful dreams, and gave them fatherly advice in time of trouble. No wonder, he was beloved by the rising generations, particularly the university students and young intellectuals.

Palma was an outspoken champion of the Filipino youth, for he fervently believed with Rizal that the young Filipinos are "the hope of the fatherland." He accepted the new changes brought about by the changing times and inspired the youth to demand reforms in society and government, because the future belongs to them. In **The Revolt of Youth**, he said:

> We have to forge ahead and should not be afraid of the changes that we witness. To me it is a good augury that we change, that our youth do not submit themselves to the restrictions and hindrances which the past has bequeathed to us and which we in turn pretend to leave to our progeny as a legacy, that they endeavor to bring originality into their thoughts and feelings and acquire new experiences which have been denied us. After all, the youth of today will be the citizens of tomorrow, and they have the right to remodel the things which they find out of place or out of step with the times.

Two of the masterly historical products of Palma's pen are the **Biografia de Rizal** and the **Historia de Filipinas**, incidentally his last writings. The first, written under the nom-de-plume **Lakan-Dula,** was awarded first prize (P3,000) in the nationwide contest on the biography of Dr. Jose Rizal, conducted by the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1938. The Board of Judges was composed of Justice Manuel C. Briones (chairman), Don Jaime C. de Veyra, Dean Conrado Benitez, Don Teodoro M. Kalaw, Dean Leandro H. Fernandez, and Director Eulogio B. Rodriguez. The second prize (P1,000) was given to Camilo Osias (**Tamaraw**) and the two third prizes were obtained by Mrs. Asuncion Lopez Bantug (**Apo-ni-Dimas**) and Carlos Quirino (**Talo-Saling**). In a written report submitted to President Manuel L. Quezon, Justice Briones said: "In the work of **LAKAN-DULA** (Palma—Z.) are certain superiorities and excellencies which are not found in the manuscripts of the other contestants and neither in the biographies of Rizal published to the present time."

A distinguished Rizalist and jurist, Roman Ozaeta, who translated the first-prize winning biography into English in 1949 confirmed the decision of the Board of Judges. "Dr. Rafael Palma's prize-winning biography of Rizal," he commented, "is considered the best, most compendious, and most faithful portrayal of the Filipino hero's life and character that has been written to date."

The **Historia de Filipinas**, which Palma wrote and finished in 1935, is a fine contribution to Philippine historiography. It is a concise, factual, and unbiased history of our nation from the misty ages of our little-known prehistory to the eve of the emergence of the

Commonwealth of the Philippines. Written in sonorous Spanish, it portrays vividly the political and economic development of our people since pre-Magellanic times and the flowering of our civilization out of the harmonious blending of the Asian, Hispanic, Mexican, and American cultural influences.

According to Carlos P. Romulo, who penned its preface, "the work of Palma does not discover, as it is impossible to discover, all the events because the life of man is too brief for the magnitude of the work; but it sets an example to future historians so that they may not repeat automatically what others have done in not discerning the difference between truth and fiction."

It is very lamentable that until the present day this **magnum opus** of Palma has not yet been published in English and Pilipino editions so that our people, particularly the younger generations, may read it. True that the University of the Philippines Press had put out a facsimile edition of the original manuscript, without illustrations, without bibliography, and without an index. In such an unattractive form, I wonder if enough copies have been sold in the reading market. Frankly speaking, Spanish is a dying language in our country. Most of our people, including the young intellectuals and professionals, do not know or have only a little knowledge of Spanish. We can, therefore, assume that this **Historia** of Palma is unknown to them. Most likely only a few scholars and friends of Palma must have read it and realized its merits.

This wonderful **Historia** of Palma reminds me of a melodic couplet in Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard:"

> "Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air."

It is high time that we, lovers of history and admirers of Palma, try our best to salvage his historical masterpiece from oblivion by spearheading a movement to have it translated into English and Pilipino and have it published in moderate-priced editions so that our reading public, especially the millions of young students, may read it. This is, in my sincere and humble opinion, the best way to pay homage to the memory of Palma. It is by reading his **Historia**, as well as his other great writings, that we can love more our beloved fatherland and appreciate more its author, who was truly a many-splendored scholar and historian.

RAFAEL PALMA, ESCRITOR *

Por Encarnacion Alzona

Rafael Palma (1874-1939) pertenecio a una pleyade brillantisima de escritores filipinos — Cecilio Apostol, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Clemente J. Zulueta, Epifanio de los Santos, Jose C. Abreu y Jaime C. de Veyra — que se dieron a conocer en los albores del siglo XX cuando nuestro pais entonces atravesaba momentos criticos en su vida politica y cultural por el cambio de soberania — de España latina a Estados Unidos sajon — realizado a pesar de la existencia de una Republica filipina, la magna creacion de nuestra Revolucion del 1896.

Mas bien romantico que realista luchaba con la pluma por arma por el derecho del pueblo filipino a vivir como una nacion independiente, y por el reconocimiento por Estados Unidos de la Republica Filipina fundada por los filipinos mismos despues de haber derrocado el yugo español. Solo tenia unos 24 años pero ya habia leido las obras maestras de eminentes republicanos y grandes pensadores de España y Francia como Francisco Pi y Margall, Victor Hugo, Lammenais, Rousseau, los Dumas, Eugene Sue y Lamartine. Las ideas de estos autores le convirtieron a la fe republicana. Dice el en su autobiografia: "Mi horizonte intelectual parecio ensancharse y todas las teorias de la Revolucion francesa que antes habia rechazado, a fuera de catolico y españolizado, me parecian ahora claras y radiantes como una nueva aurora que entraba abundantemente y Fraternidad sonaban a sus oidos como un mensaje divino.

> Una crisis espiritual le sobrevino. Habian cambiado sus ideas politicas, pero no las morales, porque segun el" . . . la bondad, la generosidad, el patriotismo y la abnegacion son virtudes, no porque la religion nos los enseñado, sino porque son esenciales a las relaciones humanas, y la vida no se puede concebir sin ellas. Son virtudes que nacen con el individuo y este tiene que practicarlas por necesidad, y por propia conveniencia; porque al obrar de otro modo, pierde la consideracion del publico y nadie quiere seguir una conducta desaprobada por el resto de sus semejantes."

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*Paper read at the celebration of the centenary of the birth of Rafael Palma, October 24, 1974, held under the auspices of the National Historical Commission, at the National Library Auditorium, Manila.

Su catolicismo se habia debilitado, era verdad; pero no su fe en Dios. "Lo cual prueba," afirma el, "que el catolicismo es solo una forma, y la religion, la sustancia. Me considero religioso no obstante que no sigo los dogmas ni las practicas del catolicismo, porque fio en Dios y le ruego mis necesidades y me acuerdo de El en mis horas de tristeza como en las de alegria."

Cuando comenzo su labor periodistica, como redactor, y mas tarde director, de **La Independencia**, fundada por los hermanos Antonio y Joaquin Luna, ya era un verdadero republicano; y "Leia con devocion los articulos de Mabini y los encontraba de perfecto acuerdo con mis propias ideas."

Llenas de celo patriotico estan las "Instantaneas," cronicas de la guerra filipino-americana, que escribio para **La Independencia:** "Lo que hemos dejado, El espia, Los heridos que llegan, Un hogar de patriotas, Las victimas sagradas, Se fueron, En el campamento, Un viaje a Polo, y Jose Villanueva Fernandez."

Con maestria literaria pinta los horrores que vio en los campos de batalla, el heroismo del soldado filipino, y los sufrimientos del pueblo. En "Un viaje a Polo" relata con profunda admiracion el patriotismo de las damas de San Fernando, Pampanga, que encontro en las trincheras de Pasong Madulas, distribuyendo cigarrillos, dinero y otras cosas mas a los soldados para alentarles y fortalecerles. Declara Palma:

> "La union, la compenetracion de todos los elementos del pais se puede probar palpablemente por esas manifestaciones de amor, simpatia y gratitud a los soldados por todas las clases, por la mujer especialmente, ese compendiado poema de hermosura y bondad, idilio perpetuo que suena en todos los dolores y amarguras del mundo."

Las "Instantaneas" y sus primeras inquietudes literarias aparecen coleccionadas en la revista **Cultura Filipina** del mes de mayo de 1914 bajo el titulo de Voces de Aliento, con un prologo del afamado poeta y periodista don Joaquin Pellicena Camacho. Sobresalen sus ensayos literarios, brevisimos unos, menos breves los otros, por su prosa fluida y castiza, su poetico sentimentalismo y amor a la cultura filipina. Le fascinaban las costumbres del pais, descubriendo en ellas el alma romantica del pueblo, como notamos en el ensayo "El canto de la Pasion."[1]

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[1] Palma, Rafael, "El canto de la Pasion" en **Voces de Aliento, Cultura Filipina**, Mayo 1914, pags. 749-752.

El canto de la Pasion de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, que en nuestros pueblos llena la brisa de los dias de Cuaresma, era para el poetico y digno de conservarse. Sobre todo escribe el con humana ternura:

> En Filipinas, en las sublimes y primaverales noches de Cuaresma, cuando las flores huelen mas, cuando hay mas estrellas alla en el fondo azul de los cielos, cuando entre las hojas de la caña y de los platanales suenan los suspiros tremulos y las endechas mas enamoradas de la brisa, oyese un canto monotono, grave, preñado de religiosa melancolia, que entona voz alta y vibrante cuajando el espacio de notas languidas y prolongadas que se quiebran en suspiros y se evaporan en lagrimas. Su musica no varia, las estrofas se canta del mismo modo, pero le prestan armonia y encanto la flexible lengua del pais en que se canta y la vaguedad melancolica que respiran todas sus notas.
>
> Ese canto es el "**Canto de la Pasion.**". . . .
>
> Es el canto religioso del pueblo filipino. Por eso tiene su tiempo y por eso tiene su musica . . . . Me gusta ese canto, me conmueve y me impresiona. Cuando en mis paseos solitarios, vagando por caminos poco frecuentados, en busca de impresiones que alimenten el calor de mi juventud, alla en mi pueblo, escucho una voz que canta la **Pasion** desde cualquiera choza que cobija y oculta un arbol. Al volver la primera esquina, me paro instintivamente a escuchar la voz que canta, destemplada quizas, a veces ronca, pero que mis oidos procuran excusar, encontrando no se que sabrosa melodia, que deleitoso arte en ella. No se por que, pero os confieso que mas de una vez me sucedio volver a casa con melancolia y lagrimas: son las notas de la **Pasion** que han logrado llegar a mi alma sacudiendola de su sueño brutal e indiferente.
>
> En su musica encuentro mucha melancolia y mimo oriental y en sus notas largas y vibrantes me parece oir suspiros del alma, elegias grandes, aletear de plegarias. He oido a muchos criticarla por insulsa y monotona, pero hay algo que me deleita y entusiasma en aquella serie de suspiros, de espirantes quejas, de nostalgia grave y misteriosa.

Cuando algunos contemporaneos suyos manifestaron que ese canto popular de la **Pasion** debia suprimirse en esta edad del progreso, Palma se opuso diciendo:

> No comprendo como esos individuos tienen el mal gusto de rebelarse contra esa poetica costumbre que retrata los dias de nuestra inocencia y lleva el sello de nuestra religiosidad. Las tradiciones y costumbres que no contrarian el progeso deben perpetuarse por el encanto divino que llevan: son para el pueblo como el ensueño de su

> pasado, como la sangre de su corazon. Las tradiciones y costumbres marcan con claridad las diversas epocas por que un pueblo pasa en el desarrollo de su personalidad en la historia.

Asi fue Palma. Guiado por un sano filipinismo y un espiritu esclarecido, no menospreciaba las sencillas y antiguas costumbres de sus compatriotas; antes bien las defendia contra los que quisieron deprimirlas.

Se formo Palma en las redacciones de **La Independencia, El Nuevo Dia,** que Sergio Osmeña fundara en Cebu y el El **Renacimiento,** todos los cuales se destacaron por sus sentimientos patrioticos y su vigorosa defensa del derecho de los filipinos a ser una nacion independiente durante los primeros años del regimen americano. Impelido por un amor intenso a su tierra natal publico en **La Independencia** del 29 de Septiembre de 1899 un articulo intitulado "Remembranzas"[2] de lo cual extraemos las siguientes lineas:

> ¡Filipinas es independiente!
>
> Gritos de guerra recorren hoy los aires y saltos de sangre enrojecen las verdes campiñas de Filipinas.
>
> ¿Por que?
>
> Porque alguien trata de arrancar de nuevo la corona de libertades de la frente del pueblo y trata de hacerle dar un salto atras.
>
> No sera! El pueblo filipino sabra luchar por su soberania con teson, con integridad.
>
> El juramento de fidelidad prestado ante la bandera del sol y las estrellas es juramento de vida o muerte.
>
> ¡El pueblo filipino sera libre y soberano!

Palabras profeticas que se realizaron cuarenta y siete años despues — el 4 de julio de 1946 — porque, como registra la historia patria, los norteamericanos tomaron Manila el 13 de agosto de 1898. A pesar de esta realidad politica, Palma romantico, siguio defendiendo con entusiasmo la Republica Filipinas. Al decretar el nuevo gobierno la deportacion a la de Guam de los intransigentes, entre ellos Apolinario Mabini, ya un paraplejico, Palma, que entonces estaba en Cebu, trabajando en la redaccion de **El Nuevo Dia**, quiso publicar un articulo sobre el suceso, "!!! Al Destierro!!!," pero el censor americano lo prohibio. Aparecio despues en El Renacimiento del 6 de septiembre de 1901.

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[2] **En Voces de Aliente, Cultura Filipina, Mayo 1914, pag. 898.**

En ese año fue admitido Palma al ejercicio de la abogacia, pero en vez de abrir bufete, fundo **El Renacimiento** en septiembre de 1901, de lo cual fue el primer director, decidido a continuar su campaña en favor de la independencia y fortalecido por su fe en el poder de la prensa para hacer triunfar las ideas.

Su labor periodistica le conquisto cierto prestigio politico. Al celebrarse las elecciones para diputados a la primera Asamblea Filipina en 1907 sus ideales politicos ya eran bien conocidos y tenia numerosos admiradores; y por eso no fue inesperado el triunfo que obtuvo en Cavite saliendo elegido como diputado por aquella provincia. Asi comenzo su carrera politica bajo el regimen americano.

Al siguiente año, 1908, fue elevado a la Comision Filipina, nombrado por el Presidente de Estados Unidos. Abolida la Comision en 1916 fue elegido senador. En el Senado abogo brillantemente por los proyectos de ley de divorcio y sufragio feminino, cobrando fama de pensador liberal. Tan renombrado ya Palma por su capacidad para desempeñar altos cargos en el Gobierno que en 1917 fue escogido por el Gobernador General Francis B. Harrison (1913-1921) como su Secretario del Interior, y asi fue miembro del gabinete con una cartera muy importante, por dos periodos de tres años cada uno, habiendo sido nombrado por segunda vez al termino del primero. Habia llegado a la cumbre. Sin embargo, en 1920 dimitio para consagrarse al ejercicio de su profesion de abogado, que le rindio una renta halagueña. Se vio obligado a dejar tan lucrativa profesion cuando le fue ofrecido el rectorado de la Universidad del Estado en octubre de 1923, desempeñando interinamente el cargo, no queriendo al principio abandonar enteramente el ejercicio de su profesion. Solo por los ruegos del entonces Spiker Manuel Roxas (despues primer presidente de la Republica, 1946-1948), que apelo a su patriotismo y de algunos catedraticos de la Universidad, acepto Palma el nuevo cargo con la condicion de que el sueldo se elevara a ₱18,000. En verdad, no era extraño a la Universidad, pues desde su fundacion en 1908 habia pertenecido a la Junta de Regentes, nombrado por el gobernador general.

Su rectorado se corono de exito. Llevo a la Universidad su espiritu abierto, su amor a la juventud, su culto a la verdad, su integridad y su adoracion a la patria. Conquisto el afecto y aprecio tanto del claustro de profesores como de la inquieta juventud universitaria, de tal manera que algunos le ponen por encima de todos los rectores que ha tenido en su historia aquella institucion·

docente. Las clases graduandas del año 1934, deseando dar a su ilustre y querido rector una prueba de su estimacion y afecto le dedicaron su publicacion anual titulada **Philippinensian** con esta sentida dedicatoria:

> **1934 Philippenensian**
> dedicado a Rafael Palma
>
> Saliente Rector de la Universidad de Filipinas quien, impelido por la marcha de los acontecimientos a acaudillar la juventud de la nacion en su demanda de ser oida en la resolucion de los problemas vitales que afronta el pais, ha encontrado en el un Defensor y Amigo.

Esta dedicatoria hace alusion a los sucesos que obligaron al Rector Palma a dimitir su cargo el 31 diciembre de 1933. "Estaba encariñado con mis trabajos en la Universidad y estaba satisfecho de que mis trabajos los apreciaba el publico," escribe Palma en su autobiografia, en la cual dedica mas pagimas a su labor universitaria que a ninguna otra que habia emprendido en su vida. Una cuestion politica le arrastro a la arena de la controversia: Salio a la defensa de la Ley Hare-Hawes-Cutting sobre la independencia, aprobada por el Congreso de Estados Unidos, con un articulo que se publico en **La Vanguardia.** Era el comienzo de la polemica entre el y los partidarios de Quezon que se oponian a la ley, entre ellos Jorge C. Bocobo, entonces decano del Colegio de Leyes de la Universidad, En la Legislatura los que simpatizaban con Quezon atacaron a Palma, criticando su administracion de la Universidad, solo para molestarle, quiza, para obligarle a doblegarse, hasta que finalmente rebajaron su sueldo de ₱18,000 a ₱12,000. "En vista de estas circunstancias y teniendo que la Universidad sufriera por mi causa, dimiti mi cargo con efectividad el 31 de diciembre de 1933. Deje a un lado el cargo de Rector de la Universidad y me eche por el atajo. No habian de impedirme pensar libremente sobre asuntos publicos que afectan los destinos del pais. No habian de cerrar mis labios por haber osado salir en contra de la opinion de los que mandan Preferi mi libertad e independencia de pensar a las comodidades que me brindaba mi jugoso salario en la Universidad."

Precisamente por esas cualidades que denuncia su declaracion arriba citada le admiraban y respetaban a Palma personas que habian seguido sus actuaciones politicas, aun las que no comulgaban con sus ideas. Tanto apreciaba su dignidad como hombre y su libertad personal que siempre estaba dispuesto a sacrificar ventajas materiales por ellas, y por eso dejo la vida publica pobre.

Es notable que su jornada universitaria habia enriquecido la bibliografia filipina con un tomo que reune sus discursos, conferencias y articulos con el titulo de Alma Mater. Palma, el filosofo y profundo pensador, queda revelado en ese libro que trae sus pensamientos sobre la pedagogia, la juventud y las cuestiones palpitantes del dia.

Volvio entonces al ejercicio de su profesion, tantas veces interrumpido por responder al llamamiento de la patria. Pero no se contento con esto. Continuo en su empeño de defender la ley de la independencia, creyendo sinceramente que el pueblo tenia derecho a saber la verdad, segun le dictaba su propio criterio. El pueblo se dividio entre los **pros** y los **antis.** Palma estaba con los pros. Se presento a candidato en el cuarto distrito para senador en 1934 y en su recorrida a las provincias pronuncio numerosos discursos exponiendo sus puntos de vista. Pero Quezon pudo conseguir del Congreso americano otra ley, la Ley Tydings-McDuffie, que fue aceptada inmediatamente por nuestra Legislatura, quitandole a los **pros** su mejor argumento y en consecuencia debilitando a sus candidatos. Palma fue derrotado. No estaba solo. Tambien salieron derrotados tan conocidos politicos como Camilo Osias, Pedro Sabido, Emiliano Tria Tirona y Vicente Vera. Quezon triunfo.

Palma estaba resignado; ya no pensaba en ser candidato. Su ultima derrota le habia costado un dineral y sinsabores mil. Pero vinieron encima las elecciones de delegados para la Asamblea Constituyente y los concejales de Manila, admiradores suyos, le rogaron que presentase su candidatura en el distrito Sur de la ciudad. Bajo la condicion de que ellos mismos presentarian su candidatura y se encargarian de su campaña, Palma accedio a su peticion. Salio elegido; fue entonces delegado a la Asamblea Constituyente — otra gloria mas para el ilustre ciudadano

Con este bosquejo de la vida politica de Palma hemos querido señalar que Palma no era un historiador encerrado su torre de marfil, alejado del clamoreo de la muchedumbre, pero si un estadista convertido en historiador, dueño de un caudal de conocimientos, adquirido durante sus dias de periodismo y actividad politica en una epoca de mayor importancia para los destinos del pueblo filipino.

De los titulos que conquistara con su labor literaria Palma el primero ha de ser el de historiador. Desde su adolescencia, siendo estudiante del bachillerato en el Ateneo Municipal de Manila, se distinguio por su aficion al estudio de los temas de historia y sociologia. No era de extrañar, pues que su trabajo sobre el lugar de Rizal en la historia de Filipinas fuese declarado el mejor de todos los que se presentaron en el certamen convocado por el Club Internacional en 1902. El premio consistio en ₱200, y recordandolo años despues declaro Palma: "Hasta entonces nunca habia visto reunidos en mi poder doscientos pesos juntos y mi esposa y yo tuvimos una alegria tremenda por tal acontecimiento."

La Historia de Filipinas es deudora a Palma el haber gestionado con exito la adquisicion de la rica biblioteca Filipina en Barcelona de la Compañia General de Tabacos de Filipinas (Tabacalera) en su viaje por Europa en 1912, aprobandolo el ilustrado Gobernador General W. Cameron Forbes (1909-1913). Desafortunadamente esa valiosa coleccion fue una de las grandes perdidas sufridas por nuestro pais durante la ocupacion japonesa (1942-1945) de tristisima recordacion.

La vocacion literaria habia persistido a lo largo de su carrera, asi es que, de tiempo, salian de su pluma trabajos de gran valor historico. En la **Philippine Review** de abril de 1919 aparece un articulo suyo, que era el segundo capitulo de su notable obra **Apolinario Mabini: Estudio biografico**, que mas tarde sirvio de introduccion a una recopilacion de los escritos de Mabini, incluso su obra maestra, **La Revolucion Filipina**, editada por la Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas. Como ya hemos mencionado, Palma durante la Revolucion conocio a Mabini y sus ideas politicas y se convirtio en su entusiasta admirador. Escribe Palma en su vibrante prosa: "Asi es que las cualidades que mas admiramos en el, su firmeza y serenidad en la hora de la lucha, su sobriedad en el hablar como su prudencia en el obrar, su aficion a dejarse guiar de teorias en su conducta practica, cierto misticismo en sus ideas, en su manera de pensar y una filosofica resignacion para el sacrificio y el infortunio, nos producen la impresion de un retrato fiel y vivo del caracter comun de la mayoria de sus compatriotas."

En su estudio biografico, quiza superior a los que hasta esta fecha (1974) han visto la luz publica, Palma recuerda que Mabini era reconocido en la Universidad de Santo Tomas, tanto por sus condiscipulos, como una inteligencia privilegiada. Su prodigiosa memoria asombraba a todos, pues, sin tomar apuntes durante la conferencia del catedratico lo transcribia fielmente despues. La pregunta mas intrincada del catedratico la contestaba con facilidad, Y era que pertenecio a una "promocion memorable", jamas registrada en la historia de la Universidad de Santo Tomas. Tan memorable era que un condiscipulo suyo, el abogado Felix Ma. Roxas, que fue alcalde de la ciudad de Manila (1905-1917), mas de un cuarto de siglo despues, lo recordaba aun en un articulo publicado en **El Debate**[3] de Manila con el titulo de "Promocion memorable." Los que la componian habian obtenido la calificacion de "Sobresaliente" en todas las asignaturas, de los cuales menciona a Aquiles Luzurriaga, Julian Gerona, Jose Varela Calderon, Roberto Moreno, Francisco Santamaria. Bartolome Revilla, Gregorio Singian, Cayo Alzona, Francisco Villanueva, Eugenio Arnedo, Magalona y otros mas entre los filipinos, y los españoles Benito Perdignero, Romero Almagro, Bores y Jose Martos O'Neil.

Es luminosa la comparacion que hace Palma de Mabini con Rizal:

> Mabini tiene muchos puntos de contacto con Rizal en la sinceridad de su caracter, en su apasionamiento por la verdad y en su estoicismo por aceptar cualquier grado de sacrificio y sufrimiento personal por la causa del pueblo. Diriase que Mabini tomo por modelo a Rizal. Varian un poco los detalles, el escenario en que representaron sus respectivos papeles, pero, en el fondo abrazaron la misma causa y dieron todo lo mejor que tenian de si en su defensa. Es verdad que Rizal desea una evolucion pacifica, mientras Mabini predica la revolucion y la guerra. Pero no era por eso el uno menos hombre de paz que el otro. Ambos luchan con la pluma, no con la espada. Ambos quieren que el pueblo mantenga su dignidad y su libertad contra cualesquiera enemigos, para que sea digno del respecto y estimacion de los demas.
>
> — — — — — — — — — — —
>
> En Mabini y Rizal se eleva raza filipina que los ha producido. . . ,

Con justo orgullo sus compatriotas le han honrado con el titulo de "Cerebro de la Revolucion"; pues segun la autorizada pluma de Palma," Nuestra Revolucion hubiera sido un motin sin alcance, realizado en grandes proporciones, si no fuera por la subida idealidad, la luz espiritual emanada de los principios y doctrinas de Mabini," ¡Tanto le debe a Mabini el pueblo filipino!

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[3] **El Debate**, año II, num. pag. 8 (diciembre de 1926).

En otro lugar mencionamos un ensayo sobre Rizal de Palma que gano el premio otorgado por el Club Internacional en 1902. Muchos años despues (1938), bajo la Mancomunidad Filipina (1935-1946), su **Biografia de Rizal** fue escogida por un distinguido jurado como la mejor obra de las doce que se habian sometido al concurso convocado a iniciativa del Presidente Manuel L. Quezon. El asunto de la obra habia sido el idolo de Palma desde su juventud.

Por gestiones de Palma, cuando era miembro de la Comision Filipina, el Gobernador General W. Cameron Forbes autorizo la restauracion de las reliquias de Rizal en Dapitan y creo el parque nacional de Rizal en las afueras de aquel pueblo donde el martir paso sus años de deportado.

La Biografia de Rizal por Palma sobresale entre tantas que se han escrito por "el agudo sentido de critica y de analisis de la vida y de los hechos de Rizal." El jurado, encabezado por el distinguido literato y pensador don Manuel C. Briones, señala como su superioridad, que no se encuentra en ninguna otra biografia, la critica de sus novelas y "el examen interpretativo de sus personajes," que es "soberbio y acabado."

Amante de la juventud, como Rizal, Palma dedica su libro "A los jovenes filipinos:"

> Os dedico està obra: ¿A quien mejor que a vosotros que fuisteis la primera inspiracion de Rizal y su ultima preocupacion? Os he hecho un retrato de Rizal puramente humano, a fin de que, reconociendo el aire comun de casa y de familia que os liga con el, pudiera ser mas facil para vosotros tomarle como modelo e inspiracion."

La virtud encantadora de esta biografia, segun el humilde parecer de la que estas lineas escribe, es precisamente lo que su autor indica: es "un retrato de Rizal puramente humano."

Esta biografia ha sido honrada con una version inglesa hecha por el finado Magistrado Roman Ozaeta.

Otra obra notable realizada por Palma en el sereno crepusculo de su vida se titula **Historia de Filipinas.** La obra consta de veintiun capitulos, con evocadores titulos, cada uno de los cuales es amena e informativa lectura. Supo Palma sintetizar en esta historia las aspiraciones, las ilusiones, los sueños, los desmayos, las virtudes y los defectos del pueblo filipino. Para escribir esta historia politica, cultural y artistica habia recurrido a fuentes autorizadas, utilizando los materiales que aportan los estudios antropologicos, sociologicos y linguisticos. La imparcialidad, la serenidad, la sinceridad con que llevo su vida lo aplico a la historia patria. Por estas cualidades sobresale esta obra entre tantas que han venido de plumas extranjeras y nativas. Por carecer de itempo y ocasion no pudo hacer uso de los documentos que se encuentran en los archivos, que le hubiesen obligado a hacer viajes costosos a tierras extranjeras; pero, en cambio, con su vasto conocimiento de la evolucion de las instituciones tanto politicas como sociales de su pais y su madura vision ha podido legar a la posteridad una obra que sin duda alguna despertara su amor patrio y ensanchara su conocimiento de su tierra natal. Los capitulos que tratan de la cultura patria nos haran reflexionar y sentir en estos tiempos la necesidad de conservar los valores de la espiritualidad filipina.

Su concepto de la importancia del estudio de la historia lo expone en una conferencia leida ante la asamblea semanal de los alumnos de la Universidad de Filipinas, de lo cual era su digno rector, en noviembre de 1929:

> Se dice que la funcion de la historia es decir la verdad, y por tanto la historia debe depurar los hechos y consignarlos sin el calor de la pasion ni del prejuicio. De este modo, la historia sa sido siempre considerada como maestra de la vida, porque cuenta con veracidad la larga experiencia de los pueblos; señala los errores y desaciertos cometidos, examina como por unas causas se ha producido la grandeza y bienestar de los pueblos, como por otras se han originado su decadencia y su ruinal. Pero la historia sirve para algo mas. La historia no solo es el resumen de lo pasado, la revelacion de la potencialidad de una raza, de sus virtudes defectos, sino tambien su luz y guia para lo porvenir. Sirve para indicar lo que un pueblo debe hacer en cada periodo de su historia, a la luz de la experiencia de lo pasado. Por eso, cuando un pueblo tiene un problema, debe acudir a su historia en la confianza de que ella dara la contestacion deseada. Asi que, en medio de las dudas que nos asaltan al presente, en medio de los temores y tribulaciones que nos aquejan ante los problemas del dia, sobre todo aquellos que tienen relacion con el desarollo economico del pais, debemos pedir luz e inspiracion de nuestra historia.[4]

En la **Historia de Filipinas** de Palma encontrara el lector los pensamientos y juicios de un estadista filipino serio y estudioso sobre su pais natal. He aqui lo que dice en resumen de la dominacion española sobre Filipinas:

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[4] Palma, Rafael, "Nuestra Historia" en Alma Mater, Manila 1930, pags. 291 292.

> El sistema de administracion colonial española tenia el principal defecto de que las leyes, buenas en si e inspiradas en el deseo de hacer justicia y de promover el progreso y bienestar de los filipinos, no cumplian en la practica. Habia siempre alguna autoridad o influencia intermedia que entorpecia su ejecucion. De esta manera, el desarrollo tanto intelectual como material de los filipinos durante tres siglos ha sido comparativamente lento y pesado.
>
> Pero cualquiera que sea el criterio que se sustente sobre los resultado de la labor colonizadora de España ha de permancer incolume este testimonio de la historia: España no destruyo la nacionalidad filipina; España, al retirarse del territorio filipino, dejo un pais hecho, pletorico de vigor y vitalidad espiritual. La colonizacion española tuvo una tendencia altamente civilizadora y altruista. Su politica fundamental no fue manchada por el designio de la esplotacion economica. Fue el celo evangelico el movil que alento a los Reyes Catolicos a mantener su soberania sobre las Islas Filipinas. Ellos gastaron parte de su propio tesoro no solo para ayudar al sostenimiento del gobierno en Filipinas sino tambien para defender la integridad territorial de esta colonia contra toda agresion enemiga, tanto del Oriente como del Occidente. Por esta razon, aunque España no puede gloriarse de decir que ha desarrollado en alto grado las Islas comercial y economicamente, sin embargo, puede enorgullecerse de haber formado en el Extremo Oriente una nacion cristiana y progresiva, capaz, por su cultura y educacion, de alternar con las naciones mas avanzadas de la tierra.

Con su espiritu de patriota no podria menos de lamentar la suerte que le cupo a la primera republica filipina. Leemos en su **Historia** este lamento:

> Asi perecio aquella pobre y pequeña republica! Nacida entre dos guerras y erigida por la fe y el patriotismo de los filipinos a los principios de la libertad y de la democracia, fue estrangulada casi al nacer por uno de esos caprichos de la fatalidad por el poder de la republica mas grande de los tiempos modernos que ha enseñado al mundo el primer ejemplo de combatir la opresion y la tirania de los reyes. Parecia un contrasentido historico ver el ejercito de los Estados Unidos abogando en sangre las aspiraciones de los filipinos que estaban fundadas en los mismos principios enunciados en la Declaracion de la Independencia de los fundadores de la nacion Americana.

Sin embargo, el ideal de independencia quedo albergado en los pechos de los filipinos, y una vez restaurada la paz sus representantes trabajaron con fervor hasta que ese ideal se realizara. Y concluye el historiador con este acento optimista: "Nuestra pueblo ha probado que tiene una resistencia fisica y moral, capaz de triunfar sobre las violencias y vicisitudes mas amargas." El pueblo filipino es un pueblo con esperanzas.

Nacio Palma el 24 de octubre de 1874 en el pueblo de Tondo, pueblo de Lakandula y cuna del nacionalismo isleño. Hijo de padres pudientes recibio la mejor educacion que el pais entonces ofrecia a la juventud. Curso la segunda enseñanza en el afamado Ateneo Municipal de Manila, regentado por los padres jesuitas, y despues paso a la unica universidad que existia en las Islas, la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Santo Tomas. Sin haber terminado el curso de derecho, faltandole un año mas, estallo la Revolucion y la Universidad se cerro. Ya bajo el regimen americano estudio por si mismo las asignaturas del ultimo año, y saliendo aprobado en los examenes por la Corte Suprema, fue admitido en 1901 a la honrosa profesion de la abogacia.

Con sus meritos pudo volar a las alturas que se merecia. Desempeño altos cargos en el gobierno durante las tres primeras decadas de este siglo, habiendo influido poderosamente en los destinos del pais. Se hizo mason y fue presidente del Congreso Masonico, celebrado el 30 de mayo de 1930, que aprobo una resolucion en favor del estalecimiento de una republica filipina.

Era de mediana estatura, con rostro alargado, la frente ancha, el mirar tierno, de personalidad atractiva, mas distinguido que guapo. Desde los principios del año 1939 su salud habia decaido en gran manera, y el 24 de mayo de aquel año Rafael Palma gala y orgullo de la intelectualidad filipina, bajo al silencio eterno de la tumba.

ENCARNACION ALZONA

A DESIGN FOR THE FILIPINO FAMILY *

By Virginia Palma-Bonifacio

Not every daughter is given the chance to hear her father talked about in grand superlatives, his qualities described in glowing terms, his name uttered in the same breadth with the choicest of virtues. It is for this touching privilege that on behalf of the family of Rafael Palma, I wish to thank the speakers who have unfolded before this audience the diverse roles he had played in his desire to exhaust his commitment as a Filipino, and who have focused with competence on the many authentic facets of his character.

There is, however, another dimension to Rafael Palma that we, his family, have privately cherished. It is the intimate side of him — that of the family man — we shall share with you on this, his one hundredth birthday.

Let us permit ourselves to imagine that the time is the very early 1900's. For some of us here, this will not be too difficult. I suspect I am not the sole remnant of that generation of "long ago and far away" and a few of you will recall with me that we were in some ways like our country in those days — not too complex, not too sophisticated. And to us, sex was a very dirty word.

Imagine that the place is: the unpretentious middle-class home of the middle-class Palmas where breakfast was at seven-thirty and whoever slept beyond six-thirty got one affectionate "palo sa puwit" — Father's private signal to: Get out of bed. Help Felisa, the **cocinera** and be ready at table! Back from daily mass, Mother would help Father get dressed for his office. (I wonder whether he could have ever fixed his tie without Mother's assistance.) Twelve o'clock on the dot, he was back home for lunch. Lunch was always ready, for Mother's kitchen schedule was synchronized with his schedule. Any little upset in time would send her in a flurry, stirring everyone in the kitchen to ru-ru-ru-rush! (her very own private term); and lunch would still be at twelve. We had no time for affluent indolence. The busy hum of housework would stop only for a five o'clock movie, or a "paseo" and a quick "merienda" at the Banahaw. Everyone had to be home for dinner at seven-thirty... this was how every evening Father would "gather his flock."

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*Paper read at the celebration of the centenary of the birth of Rafael Palma, October 24, 1974, held under the auspices of the National Historical Commission, at the National Library Auditorium, Manila. The author is the eldest daughter of the late Rafael Palma.

A strict, heartless discipline? Not quite. Father believed that values should be taught at home. Institutions are mere extensions. So, in his own fashion, he designed a curriculum for us. This six-thirty a.m. to seven-thirty p.m. routine was simply habit awakening which evoked a willing cooperation and which, later, became almost second nature to us.

There was no compulsion. Father's rationale on family co-existence had an almost homespun tone to it: that the family exists for the benefit, not of the parents but of the children; that parents should take care of their children's physical, mental, and spiritual development; yet, have no right to dictate their fate, nor choose professions or husbands for them, nor require payment for having taken care of them. Hence, he left us to our own responsibility, to make our own decisions and live our own lives.

Father had a strong contempt for slavery. The fact of slavery is the same. Therefore, he insisted that even in the home, no parent should make slaves of his children.

There was no compulsion. Father had merely set the mores and manners. The daily routine was for us to conform to or reject. We opted to conform.

Who would not want to be home by seven-thirty? Sparkling after-dinner stories were enticement enough. Comfortable in his cool "camisa chino" and ankle-length "calzoncillo," Father would put up his left leg on his chair, semi-yoga style. That was our cue for "story-telling time." We were a young and nimble bunch ourselves then, but we could not resist a strange fascination in that man who cut a curious figure of a venerable "guru."

His stories were sometimes quaintly true; at other times, rich blends of reality and fantasy. So we sat for hours — too quiet and too listening. He was one superstar and the whole family around him, one sense.

There were times when he talked of his mother whose face he could hardly remember — she died when he was only seven — but whose love and care were sharply etched in his memories; of his father, always the good provider for his needs for studies but never for his "good times;" of his brother Jose — the idealist, his brother Manuel — the realist, and himself — the in-between.

With sadness, he talked of his sister who "looked like the Virgin" in the Holy Family picture that had hung quietly in a dim corner of their Tondo home, and of her death in the cholera epidemic of 1882.

It was a year of great public calamity. And he was a child of eight. Death tolls, funeral echoes, and piles of cadavers in the streets filled his heart with compassion. The cholera epidemic was followed by a ruthless typhoon which tore their house down right before his eyes. All these were recurrent images in his mind. I strongly feel they were behind Rafael Palma's compassion for the suffering, his distaste for the status quo and obsession for progress. Progress was for him the answer to the sad plight of man.

He was introducing us to his family and to his past. We caught a muted insistence that as he had loved his family and his fellowmen, so, must we love our own.

Story-telling would sometimes take on the character of an informal open forum where we heard his views and he heard ours. In these delicious evenings of brainstorming and spontaneous exchange of ideas, we discovered more nuances of his inner character: his value hierarchy, his special brand of integrity, his contempt for frauds and rubber-stamps, his respect for civic spirit, sacrifice, and selflessness in public service. It was typical of him to be soft-spoken; yet he was vehement on the subject of the meanness and grossness that motivated some public officials. In contrast, he delineated the traits of Rizal, Mabini, the Lunas, and his contemporaries in **El Nuevo Dia, La Independencia,** and **El Renacimiento.** They were a formidable gallery of models — no heroes with feet of clay, no tin gods among them.

We also discovered during these forums his interest in literature and how much it was a source of his facility of expression. His fine discernment and keen imagination. His penchant for the symbolic. Dates were important to him. He made very special our birthdays and First Communion days. Words, too, were important to him.

And names. Not much for what they said or how they sounded but for what they stood and the images they provoked.

When he picked the name Benedicto for my eldest son, he explained that Benedicto meant **bien dicho**; thus, coupled with the surname Bonifacio which meant **buen hecho**, the boy's full name would signify; **bien dicho, buen hecho** — or, well said, well done. My eldest daughter he nicknamed Tess after Thomas Hardy's heroine Tess Of The D'Urbervilles, who had a gentle mien and a compassionate heart. Iris was the name he picked for my other daughter — now remembered by many as the late Sister Mary Rosary. She was a nun of the Good Shepherd. It is ironic that Iris has such a pagan ring to it. But it also means "rainbow." And to those who had been loved and consoled by her or had felt her vibrance and enthusiasm for people, she was truly a softy play of lovely colours. My youngest son, he gave the name Jose — wishing for him perhaps, the same idealism that had characterized his brother Jose Palma, just as he had wished the heroism of the Trojan hero in my brother Hector.

The curriculum Father had planned for us went way beyond the family to the broader and deeper experiences of the comunity. It was a calendar of traditional festivals and religious pilgrimages, a smorgasbord of stage shows, plays, zarzuelas, operas, and summer holidays.

The cycle of events are instructive, racial and vital, and are part of the obscure background of impulses which generate the motive power in the human life cycle. Thus, he gave meaning to Christmas, New Year, Lent, All Saints' Day. They are not legend. They are a balanced program of human emotions taken from the daily living. They are an enactment of life — birth, joy, sorrow, devotion, sacrifice, death — and hence assist in developing what is characteristically human in humanity.

Father saw in these events a social merging when citizens — young and old — unite in fellowship and worship, merge personalities, and acquire a common consciousness. They serve a function at once social and historical. Strengthening the idealism of the soul, they appeal to the imagination and induce the individual wholeheartedly to identify himself as belonging to the community

This calendar of traditions began with Christmas, with the first **misa de gallo.** In camaraderie with other houses in Leroy, Paco, our house wore its most festive look. We awoke to a breakfast of **puto-bumbong, bibingka** and **kutsinta** Father and Mother would bring home, back from their **Misa de Gallo.** The day before Christmas was a continuous rustle, a rise and fall of lively sounds and spicy kitchen smells. The hours moved with a determined singleness of purpose: **Media Noche!** We walked leisurely from midnight High Mass, nervous polytones of church bells, castanets, and tamborines ringing in our ears. Then, home to a **media-noche** table of strictly Filipino dishes because Father had a strictly Filipino stomach.

On Christmas Day, Father was a less chubby and more sober version of Santa Claus to his god-children and grandchildren. Nonetheless, he made their Christmas merry — with little toys, candies, and shiny ten-centavo coins that jingled in their pockets.

New Year's Eve had a personal significance. We celebrated in our own ways but were back home before midnight to welcome the New Year together. Nagging church bells and shrill sirens commanded the family to start parading around the yard. And so, once a year, all the kitchen utensils got a "cool fresh breath" of crisp December air and had a one-night stint with the arts. Father led the parade, banging away on the largest basin from Mother's kitchen. We were a noisy comic band as we drummed on pots and pans and anything at all that could bang and clang.

It was fun.

It was pleasant confusion.

It was intimate togetherness.

Next day, we gaped as Father went through the motion of his New Year idiosyncrasy. Dressing up on New Year's Day was a longer ritual because he had to make sure every single thing he was putting on was brand new — from his "sombrero de paja" down to his "Ang Tibay" shoes. That was his way of dramatizing the meaning of New Year's Day.

Hardly a week later, and gay December still in our souls, we found in the solemn celebration of the Feast of the Black Nazarene a stark contrast. As if suddenly, laughter had to go to give way to a contrary emotion.

The Quiapo Fair was peculiar. The Quiapo church prayerfully looking heavenward and the throaty side shows, games and wheels of fortune crowding around it were a mis-matched caricature. The anachronism merited the interesting chapter in Rizal's **EL FILIBUSTERISMO.** Father himself could not resist describing it in its own essay "Feria de Quiapo."

Then, once again feelings were hushed. Holy Week seemed endless days of prayers, meditation, penance, **Visita Iglesia**, and more prayers. On Good Friday, everything was quite silent except the long sermons which made us vow never to sin again, and also made us wonder whether the seven Last Words were really only seven. Until **on Sabado de Gloria,** we could laugh and shout again, and jump — to grow taller, they said — but surely in a spirit of joy in the Resurrection, and in the hope that we, too, will one day rise to meet our Maker.

The happy month of May was for Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage. Father had a special devotion of the Blessed Virgin. His mother offered him to her to offset the bad luck his horoscope predicted. He took us on pilgrimages to Antipolo. At times, on foot. But once, I had a heady experience of a "hamaka" ride over seven bumpy hills from Taytay to Antipolo.

October was for Our Lady of the Rosary. It meant nine days of masses in Intramuros, and in the ninth day procession, a profusion of lit candles in parallel soldiery guarding the image of Our Lady. On the twenty-fourth, Father's birthday, Mother and he prayed before St. Raphael's image which stood on a side alter of the Sto. Domingo Church.

November first, we made the rounds of cemeteries and churches. We offered candles, flowers, and prayers for his brother Jose (in the Aglipayan Church in Tondo); his mother and sister (in the Tondo Catholic Church); and our brother and sister (in the Paco cemetery). And slowly, All Saints's Day would pass, with a multiplicity of features that defies description.

All these pilgrimages and prayers before statues, however, were not intended to make us **worshippers of ikons.** They were another habit awakening — to the **beautiful concept behind the ikons.**

We watched civic parades with as much religiosity as we watched the processions. The car full of sandwiches and soft drinks would be parked at a strategic place close to the Luneta grandstand. The grandstand seat reserved for Father would be empty. He enjoyed being one of the crowd. He carried his little grandchildren by turns on his shoulders to give them a better view of the parade, while the bigger grandchildren watched from the top of the car. With his contagious excitement, he made the civic parade a memorable affair where event and feeling combined.

Summer vacation took us to Sibul Springs—for its medicinal waters and filtered sunshine; to Baguio—for its light winds and touch of chill.

Once when Father was UP President, he whisked some students away from the wry smell of cramped classrooms and inspired them to raise funds for their drama club by presenting plays to Baguio vacationists. He treated them like members of the family, and organized picnics and excursions for them. He had such an affinity with the young. He hiked and climbed with them. And we would strain our eyes and watch them — dwarfed by distance — as they climbed the highest peaks.

In the smorgasbord of entertainments, plays and town fiestas were tasty favorites. Among our reportoire of local plays were: **Walang Sugat, Dalagang Bukid, Krus Na Pula, Guardia Nacional, Kahapon, Ngayon At Bukas, Paglipas Ng Dilim.** They developed in me a taste for the vernacular. Soon, I was writing short stories for local magazines and, lately, Pilipino textbooks for grade school children. In my **Bilin Ng Ating Magulang** series, I tried to incorporate my father's values and his moral, social, and cultural legacy.

To enhance our sensitivity and enlarge our vision of the world, we attended Spanish Zarzuelas, among them **La Viuda Alegre** and **El Sueño de Un Vals**; Italian Operas, such as **Carmen, Rigolleto, Aida**; and English Plays of the Community Players. These foreign imports excited the Filipino spirit hungry for a taste of Europe and America. My sisters showed preference for the English Plays and the presentations of the U.P. Dramatic Guild.

The episodes I have related were the raw materials Father had woven to refine the texture of our lives. With these, he formed our values for family and country, and inculcated in us in his philosophies which, later, history had to write about. They were experiences he had fashioned for us and made more meaningful by his presence. And, as impresario, he was at his best.

Softly silhouetted in the background was Carolina Ocampo — like a stage manager who never takes the bows. Mother relished being simply: the wife of Rafael Palma. Even when she joined the group which founded the Philippine Women's University, and the **Asociacion de Damas Filipinas,** I knew it was her job as housewife that she enjoyed best. She had no great aspirations for herself. Perhaps it was because she was a happy victim of the feminine mystique of her times which turned its back on every role except that of the devoted wife. I would rather think that love robs one of selfish aspirations and that she had put so much in her family, and left almost nothing for herself.

There was no effusive display of affection between her and Father. But we felt their love and need for each other — expressed in a language of fine shades and subdued tones. There was no harshness either. He was a mild man; and she — even in her most angry mood — was the smallest teapot tempest ever.

Father was the warm center of her life. When he died, I felt that her tears were not so much over his death, but over her loss. For, where does the shadow go when the light has gone?

Rafael Palma had no grandiose scheme of life. His were not shapeless dreams; but his dreams were not of dynasty or of empire. All he wanted for his own family was that **each member contribute to human achievement in his own unique way** so that the world may be a little better than when he came in. If he had one obsessive dream, it was for the whole family of Filipinos — that they keep a tight grip on their virtues... as if he held a secret fear that his country will one day run out of virtues.

JUAN SUMULONG y MARQUEZ: STATESMAN*

Today, on the occasion of the centennary of his birth, Juan Marquez Sumulong is remembered as a statesman and political stalwart who fought for our country's independence. He was in his time the "brains" of the opposition, firmly believing as he did in an effective and responsible opposition party as crucial in a real democracy. His name, too, will long be associated with the founding of Rizal Province at the turn of the century.

Founding of Rizal Province

To pave the way for the establishment of civil government, American administrators led by Governor William Howard Taft began organizing municipalities and provinces throughout the Philippines, which was afterwards followed by the election of municipal and provincial officials. This was the first step "to train" Filipinos in the art of democratic government.

In 1901, in the church in Pasig, a meeting was held attended by leading citizens from towns within what was known during the Spanish regime as the Province of Morong and from some towns within Manila. The meeting was presided by Taft, and its purpose was to discuss the formation of a new province. A proposal was submitted to organize a new province by combining the province of Morong with some towns in Manila. Some of those present spoke against such a merger, but a brilliant speech of Juan Sumulong explaining the advantages that would result from the proposed fusion carried the day, and the proposal was approved by an overwhelming majority. Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera then proposed that the new province be named after Jose Rizal, the national hero of the Filipinos, a proposal which won approval without opposition. A new province was thus born, bearing the proud name of Province of Rizal.

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*Biographical sketch prepared by the National Historical Commission on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Don Juan Sumulong, December 27, 1974. The editors have made only slight changes in the text.

Politics

His public career began in 1900. At the beginning of the American regime, the Federal Party was formally organized in Manila by Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera and other prominent Filipinos. It was the first political party in the Philippines. Through his association and friendship with Tavera, Sumulong came to be known as a supporter of the party. He gave full support to the party's role of helping in the restoration of peace and order after the Filipino-American War, and in the organization of civil government. In regard however to the idea of Tavera and the other founders of the party that the best way to protect the Philippines from the designs of imperialistic Powers was to make her a state of the American Federal Union, he considered it unacceptable to Filipinos and Americans alike; to the former because it was incompatible with their nationalistic aspirations, and to the latter because they did not want people of a different race to be a member of their federal union.

On January 2, 1907, the **Partido Nacional Progresista** was organized, with Don Vicente Singson Encarnacion as President and Sumulong as Vice-President. Its goal was to achieve Philippine independence by progressive stages. On the other hand, the **Nacionalista** Party founded by Osmeña and Quezon adopted "absolute, complete, and immediate independence" as its platform and battle cry.

In the election of July 30, 1907, Don Juan ran for a seat in the first Philippine Assembly as a **Progresista** candidate. He lost because the **Nacionalista** battle cry of "immediate independence" had a strong popular appeal. His constituency knew that as a revolutionist he risked his life to free his country from tyranny. But this was not enough. They wanted to hear him promise "immediate independence," but he would not because he said he would not be telling the truth.

In the 1916 general elections, after the approval by the U. S. Congress of the Jones Law, he ran for a seat in the Philippine Senate in the fourth senatorial district comprising Manila, Rizal, Laguna, and Bataan. Again, he lost.

In August 1917, Don Juan's **Progresistas** joined forces with the **Partido Democrata Nacional** led by General Teodoro Sandiko, giving rise to a stronger opposition party: the **Democrata** Party which advocated autonomy for local governments, promotion of agriculture, commerce, and industry, and development of natural resources. It was a platform intended to arouse the interest of our people in economic problems and to make them realize that they should be not only politically prepared but also economically prepared for the responsibilities of independence. To stress the importance of economic preparedness, Don Juan used to say: "An empty sack cannot stand, but fill it with rice, and it will not fall."

But political independence was still the be-all and end-all of Philippine politics. The people remained apathetic toward the economic future of the nation, and it was this indifference which enabled the party in power to defeat Don Juan's attempts (1914-1934) to bring to the political forum a frontal discussion of the problems facing our economy, particularly our economic dependence on the United States. Clearly, he was a man of foresight.

In the special election of 1923, he was the candidate of the **Democrata** Party for Senator in the fourth Senatorial District, while Quezon chose former Manila Mayor Ramon J. Fernandez as the candidate of the **Nacionalista** Party. The **Democratas** denounced the **Nacionalistas** for the frauds and scandals in the Philippine National Bank unearthed by the Wood-Forbes Mission. On the other hand, Quezon and the **Nacionalistas** attacked Don Juan as "the candidate of Wood" because of the latter's view that Governor-General Wood acted within his legal powers under the Jones Law in the celebrated Conley case. On the other hand, Fernandez was pictured as "the candidate of Juan de la Cruz." It was a hotly contested election campaign. A few weeks before the election, the **Democratas** received reports that flying voters were being brought and registered in Manila. They broached to Don Juan the need for them to also make use of flying voters. Don Juan told them he would rather lose than win through such methods. And he lost. He was a man who would never sacrifice his principles.

Judge and Commissioner

In 1903, about a year after his first election defeat, Don Juan, who was then one of the leading Filipino legal practitioners, was appointed Judge of the Court of Land Registration. He held this position until 1909 when he was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt as member of the Philippine Commission without portfolio. He resigned as Commissioner in 1913 and returned to the practice of law. Before the expiration of the term of William Howard Taft as

President of the United States, he offered Don Juan an appointment to the Supreme Court, but the latter declined the offer because he preferred to resume his law practice.

Legislator

In 1925, Don Juan was elected for a six-year term as Senator for the fourth senatorial district under the banner of the **Democrata** Party. It was during his incumbency as Senator that he had famous debate with Senate President Manuel L. Quezon on the amendments to the Corporation Law. It was also then that he registered his scathing opposition to the enactment of the so-called Belo Act, giving the governor-general a yearly appropriation for military and technical advisers to be appointed by him, known as "Belo Boys." It was also during his term as Senator that he authored the law creating the gasoline tax and the law regarding the books of accounts to be kept by merchants, especially the Chinese.

From 1930 to 1931, Don Juan was in the United States as a member of the Philippine Independence Mission which presented before the U. S. Congress the side of the Filipinos on the several bills which were then the forerunners of what was subsequently enacted as the Philippine Independence Act.

On his way back, while in California, he visited Senate President Quezon in the Monrovia Sanitarium where the latter was being given a rest cure for his tuberculosis. As he was also suffering from tuberculosis, Quezon and his wife prevailed upon him to stay in Monrovia also for a rest cure. When Quezon learned that Don Juan was planning to retire after his senatorial term expired in 1931, he urged the latter to run for re-election on the ground that his services were needed in that crucial point in our independence campaign. Quezon promised that Sumulong would be unopposed by any **Nacionalista** candidate. When Don Juan returned to Manila, he found that Dr. Juan Nolasco, the **Nacionalista** candidate, had announced that he would not run if Don Juan would run for re-election. But two **Democratas**, Gregorio Perfecto and Alfonso Mendoza, had launched their candidacies, relying on the previous announcements of Don Juan that he was retiring after his term expired in 1931. Some **Democrata** intermediaries tried to persuade Perfecto and Mendoza to withdraw so that Don Juan could run for re-election unopposed, but they both refused to withdraw. The result was Don Juan did not run for re-election, leaving Perfecto and Mendoza as the two **Democrata** candidates opposed by Dr. Nolasco as the **Nacionalista** candidate. Nolasco won.

When the first Philippine Independence Act, known as the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, was enacted by the U. S. Congress, Don Juan made a careful study of its provisions and decided to oppose its acceptance by the Filipino people mainly because of its provision that even after Philippine independence, the United States would continue to exercise sovereignty over U. S. military reservations in the Philippines. He expressed this opposition in an article published in **La Vanguardia.** Quezon, Aguinaldo, Recto, and many others followed suit in opposing the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, and they became known as the "Antis." Osmeña, Roxas, and others defending and favoring the Act became known as the "Pros."

In the elections of June 5, 1934, Don Juan ran as the candidate of the "Antis" for senator in the fourth senatorial district. He won, and the "Antis" became the party in power. On August 18, 1934, shortly after the election, the **Nacionalista** and **Democrata** "Antis" fused into a new political party called **Partido Nacionalista Democratico** with Senate President Quezon as president and Senator Juan Sumulong as vice-president. Quezon offered Sumulong a cabinet position — that of Secretary of Justice — but the latter declined, saying he wanted to devote himself completely to the office of senator to which he had just been elected.

Political Principles

Because of his abiding loyalty to democracy, Don Juan broke up with Quezon in 1935 when the estranged Quezon and Osmeña became political friends again and decided to fuse the "Antis" and the "Pros." Don Juan believed that such fusion would wipe out the existence of an effective and responsible opposition party which he considered essential to the maintenance of a real democracy. His views on the Quezon-Osmeña merger were expressed in his celebrated article, "After the Coalition, the Deluge."

Although abandoned by his erstwhile opposition colleagues when he broke his political ties with Quezon, Don Juan was able to save the opposition party from being wiped out completely. With a few stalwarts like General Jose Alejandrino, Don Sixto Lopez, and Vicente Sotto, Don Juan carried on the self-sacrificing and seemingly thank-less task of keeping alive an opposition party to fiscalize the acts and policies of the party in power, and to offer constructive criticism in the form of substitute measures and proposals. He was aptly called the "brains" of the opposition.

In 1940, Don Juan together with his brave little band, opposed the amendments to the Constitution which would permit the re-election of the President of the Philippines, re-create the Senate composed of senators elected at large instead of by senatorial district, and provide for the increase of salaries of legislators by means of a constitutional amendment instead of by ordinary legislation. His political views and his vehement and well-reasoned opposition to the amendment of the Constitution allowing re-election of the president, revealed, according to Justice Sabino Padilla, the vision of a statesman.

Parentage

Juan Sumulong was born on December 27, 1874 in Antipolo, Rizal, the son of Policarpio Sumulong and Arcadia Marquez. His father became known as Capitan Carpio having been a **Capitan Municipal** during the Spanish regime. He was an ardent nationalist during his student days in Manila. He was a great admirer of Jose Rizal, so much so he chose the brilliant Ateneo student who later became our national hero as godfather to his first child who died in its infancy.

Education

After finishing his elementary education in his hometown, Juan Sumulong was sent to Manila to continue his studies. This was on the suggestion of his uncle, the principal of the school, who saw a a great future for him.

He enrolled in the College of San Juan de Letran where his classmates included Manuel L. Quezon and Sergio Osmeña. His monthly allowance was fifty centavos which his hardy and frugal father brought to Manila every month, hiking all the way from Antipolo to Manila and back. To add to this meagre allowance, he had to work in a bakery and tutor other students. During rainy days, he want barefoot or wore **bakya** to school, wearing his shoes only in the premises, to prevent their rapid wear and tear.

He took up law at the University of Santo Tomas where he became the closest friend of Emilio Jacinto later known as the **"brains"** of the Katipunan.

Revolutionary

Sumulong was in his first year at the UST when the revolution against Spain broke out. He stopped his studies to join the ranks of the revolutionists. He became secretary at the revolutionary headquarters in Morong, the capital of then Morong Province, one of the first eight provinces in the Philippines that rose against Spain. As secretary, he was in touch with General Emilio Aguinaldo, Apolinario Mabini, and other great figures of the revolution. When the revolution ended, he served as private secretary to the Filipino Civil Governor of Morong Province with headquarters at Antipolo.

Marriage

He married a distant cousin, Maria Salome Sumulong. She was the only child of Valentin Sumulong (the first municipal president of Antipolo) and Elena Carigma.

They had eleven children, four of whom died; the seven surviving them were Lumen, Demetria, Lorenzo, Paz, Juan Jr., Belen and Francisco. Lumen graduated from the U.P. and Boston Conservatories of Music and was married to Dr. Antonio Boncan, one-time Chairman of the Board of Dental Examiners. Demetria became a pharmacist and is married to Mr. Jose Cojuangco, Sr., former assemblyman from Tarlac and now chairman of the board of Directors of the First United Bank. Lorenzo, referred to by some as "a chip of the old block," is married to Estrella Rodriguez. He was elected congressman of the 2nd district of Rizal (1946-49), and senator of the Philippines four times in the elections of 1949, 1955, 1961, and 1969. Paz, who obtained a music teacher's diploma in piano at St. Scholastica's College, is married to Emigdio Tanjuatco, a practicing lawyer and businessman and formerly a member of the Anti-Dummy Board, a director in the Philippine National Bank and NAWASA. Juan, Jr. (now deceased) was married to Esperanza Payawal, and their son Juan Sumulong III was one time municipal councilor of Antipolo. Belen, married to Mr. Manuel Bautista, is in the foreign service and at present consul-general in New Orleans, La., U. S. A. Francisco, married to Milagros Reyes, was elected congressman of the 2nd district of Rizal (1957-61) and delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention.

Largely because of the thrift, industry, and wise management of his wife Maria Salome, Juan Sumulong did not die poor as most honest politicians did. She was not ashamed to cook, to wash clothes, and do other household chores, so as to minimize the expenses of a growing family and to impress upon her children the dignity of labor, including manual labor. Many a time they had to mortgage the few hard-earned properties they had acquired, to finance his candidacy or to pay obligations incurred by him as leader of the opposition. She always managed to pay off the mortgaged debts by sheer thrift and indefatigable industry. She was a true helpmate to her husband, a model mother to her children.

Family Man

His constant advice to his children was for them to be self-reliant, and not to seek or rely on the influence of **padrinos** for their self-advancement. He was adamantly against nepotism, and during the times he was holding public office, he never recommended his children and near relatives for appointment or promotion to government positions. He and his wife saw to it that their children had all they needed for their health and education, but they never pampered and spoiled them. They were taught to work, including manual work, and were always reminded that whatever money they received must be earned by them. He was fond of quoting to them Balagtas' verses in **Florante at Laura;**

"Ang laki sa layaw karaniwa'y hubad
sa bait at munit sa hatol ay salat;

He believed in teaching by example rather than by precept. He was an exemplary husband and father. He and his wife never indulged in luxurious and ostentatious living, in keeping with their constant counsel to their children not to live beyond their means. His record as a public servant was one of spotless integrity and dedication to duty, for he wanted his children to value their honor and self-respect more than riches, power, influence, or any other form of material aggrandizement. He kept enlarging his private library with good selected books, magazines, and periodicals, so that within the home his children could by reading them develop discipline, enrich their minds, and build up their character.

He was a regular churchgoer on Sundays. But he prayed with his heart and not with his lips, paying little heed to religious rituals and ceremonies, and believing that the best way to worship God is "in spirit and in truth." During the Holy Week he used to take his

Bible and read the Sermon on the Mount which he considered to embody the essence of Christianity. He was a one-man legal aid society, always ready to lend a helping hand to the poor and the ignorant, especially those who were the victims of oppression or injustice, whose cases he defended with the same zeal and devotion that he gave to the cases of his paying clients.

Journalist

When peace was restored after the Filipino-American War, he turned to journalism and for a long time was editor of **La Democracia.** His was a prolific pen, and his articles attracted the attention of Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera and other Filipino intellectuals of the time. As a newspaperman, he likewise attracted the attention of William Howard Taft who initiated the policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos" and became the first American Civil Governor of the Philippines.

Lawyer

During the time he was engaged in newspaper work, he spent his evenings and his spare time reviewing his law through self-study. Because there were few lawyers at that time, one could take the bar examination even if he had not graduated from his law studies. He took and passed the bar examination in 1900. Even before the results of the bar examination were released, Governor Taft offered him an appointment as a provincial fiscal. He wondered and asked Taft how he could be appointed when it was not yet known if he would pass the bar examination. Taft said in reply that he had talked with Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano who was confident that Sumulong would pass the bar examination. He then pleaded his lack of experience, even if he should pass the bar examination; to which Taft replied with his poverbial humor: "Just follow my bad example. When I passed the bar examination, I was immediately appointed as a prosecuting attorney and I acquired my experience at the expense of the people." Even with this humorous sally of Taft, Sumulong politely declined the proffered appointment, saying that he would rather engage in private law practice, which he did as soon as he passed the bar examination.

One of the first cases that he handled was the boundary dispute between the towns of Antipolo and Cainta. Involved in the dispute were the ricefields of the Antipolo farmers situated in the barrios of Bulao, Mayamot, Cupang, and Mambugan, which the town of Cainta claimed to be within its territorial jurisdiction. Young and inexperienced, Sumulong advised the Antipolo farmers affected to retain the services of the best known lawyers in Manila. When none would accept it because they thought it was a losing case, he was forced to assume the responsibilities of handling the case which he won easily.

It was his successful defense of the newspaper **El Renacimiento** in a libel suit filed by high ranking American military officers which won him fame as a practising lawyer. The alleged libelous publication was an exposé of the torture and brutal treatment received by Filipino prisoners of war. His defense was the truth of the exposé and lack of malice. To prove the truth, he had to see and talk with the Filipino prisoners of war. He was refused admittance by the American base commander, constraining him to appeal to the governor-general who in a spirit of fair play gave instructions that he be allowed to enter the concentration camp and interview the Filipino prisoners of war. He was able to interview some prisoners who were willing to testify to the truth regardless of consequences. After a sensational trial, a verdict of acquittal was rendered by the trial judge, the Hon. Manuel Araullo, who later became chief justice of the Supreme Court.

After winning this case, his law practice flourished and he was regarded as one of the pillars of the Philippine Bar. He became so highly respected that people started addressing him Don Juan as a show of respect.

He was a self-made man. He was educated in Spanish schools, and as a newspaperman and as a lawyer could speak and write only in Spanish or Tagalog. Through self-study and the assistance of an American lady teacher, Miss Annie Tibbet, he was soon able to speak and write English. Through constant reading and continuous self-study, he was able to master the language of Shakespeare.

As head of a law office, Juan Sumulong was a severe taskmaster. He was very thorough in the preparation of a case. Before going to trial or oral argument, he knew the facts to the minutest detail and studied exhaustively the applicable law. His pleadings and briefs were models of thoroughness, precision, and clarity. He believed it to be the duty of a lawyer to handle every case entrusted to him with the utmost honesty and to the best of his ability. When his son, Lorenzo, joined his office in the practice of law, he was assigned to handle small cases. Lorenzo, who was valedictorian when he finished law, bar topnotcher, and holder of a master's degree from Harvard Law School, thought that he was entitled to handle bigger and more remunerative cases. Understandably, after handling a number of small cases, he approached his father to request that he be entrusted with more important cases. "My son," Don Juan counseled, "I purposely started you with small cases because I wanted to impress upon you that when a client entrusts to you a small case, involving let us say only ₱20.00, and he sees that you are honest and exert your best efforts on that small case, you can be sure that that client will come back to entrust to you bigger and more remunerative cases. But if he finds that you cannot be trusted to deal honestly and diligently with small cases, that client will not come back to you and will look for some other lawyer. So, do not feel belittled if small cases are assigned to you because they are a necessary stepping stone to your being retained for bigger and more important cases."

Last Political Stand

In 1941, Don Juan — then leading a much depleted and weakened opposition party — ran against President Quezon for the presidency in spite of this failing health. He was aware his defeat was a foregone conclusion, but he ran just the same in the hope that his efforts would lead to a revival of the two-party system in the Philippines, which he considered essential to real democracy. He believed that if nobody dared to oppose the "Man from Baler," the cause of the opposition would perish.

Before the 1941 polls, President Quezon sent emissaries, including the late Don Alejandro Roces of the prewar **Tribune** to dissuade Don Juan from running for president. If he withdrew, Quezon promised to get him nominated and elected senator without having to campaign for it. In those days Don Juan was bed-ridden most of the time. A man of less indomitable character might have yielded, but Don Juan refused to withdraw. Despite his failing health, he carried on his political campaign in the provinces. Two weeks before the election, he fell ill and was forced to stay in bed until his death on January 9, 1942.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of January 9, 1942, a week after the Japanese entry to Manila, he was visited by Messrs. Jorge Bocobo and Jose Fabella, as emissaries of the **Nacionalista** leaders who had previously met in the house of then Speaker Jose Yulo, to sound his opinion on whether he and his party would be willing to join in the formation of a Japanese-sponsored government. Don Juan on his sickbed told them that in his personal opinion it was neither right nor proper for the Filipino leaders in Manila to agree to any such arrangement as long as there were Filipino boys fighting and dying in Bataan in the battle against the Japanese and that at least no step in that direction should be taken without prior consultation with the military leaders in Bataan and Corregidor. Four hours after that conference he had a sudden heart attack which caused his death. And so, he died as he lived, loyal to his country, devoted to the cause of democracy, and seeking always to do what he believed to be right and conducive to the security and welfare of his people.

THE POOR MAN'S STATESMAN: JUAN SUMULONG AND HIS TIMES*

By Teodoro A. Agoncillo

I was an innocent boy in the 1920's standing on a curb of a Binondo street when trucks loaded with men waving small paper flags drove around to let the populous district see the huge banners proclaiming, **"Ihalal si Sumulong!"** The men, apparently confident of the victory of their candidate for senator of the fourth senatorial district, were shouting at the top of their voices: **"Sumulong: Sulong nang sulong! Walang urong!"** This was the first time I heard the name Sumulong. He was a **Democrata**, I heard people say, and the party stood for decency in the government and wise spending of the people's money. There were heated discussions on the merits of Sumulong and his opponent, the former Mayor of Manila Ramon Fernandez, then one of the richest men in the Philippines, along with Teodoro R. Yangco and Vicente Madrigal. In later years, when I had sufficiently gained a little knowledge of Philippine politics and the style of politicians, I learned to understand what political opposition, as exemplified by Don Juan Sumulong, meant. It meant, in the context of the period, an uphill battle against entrenched political moguls, a dedicated struggle to make the people realize the actual condition of the country and, especially, of the masses, and a life characterized by devotion to ideals, a life of sufferings, rebuffs, failures, and self-sacrifice. Don Juan was at the height of his intellectual powers and his popularity as an upright man and a man of deep conviction was a by-word among the educated and the less educated. The newspapers then, especially the Tagalog periodicals, were politically oriented and caricatures of candidates appeared almost daily in their pages. One magazine, I don't remember now whether it was the old weekly **Sampagita** or the daily **Pagkakaisa**, had a cartoon showing a Ford car with a license plate on which was printed in large letters the word GRAFT. Obviously, the cartoon was pro-**Democrata**, for the government of the **Nacionalistas** was then being pilloried as a haven of grafters. Senate President Manuel L. Quezon was worried over Don Juan's popularity and mass appeal, for the **Democrata** candidate was the poor man's statesman and defender, the man who had been known to oppose Quezon and Osmeña on questions of high principles and who, as oppositionist, had not been known to have sold his convictions for any price. Always inventive and resilient, Quezon, to counteract Don Juan's popularity, used his running battle with Governor-General Leonard Wood as a barrier to stop the rising tide of feeling favorable to Don Juan. It must be remembered that Quezon used the celebrated Conley Case to harass Governor Wood. Conley was an American detective on the force of the Manila Police who was accused of receiving bribes and of living with a woman other than his wife. He was suspended by then Secretary of the Interior Jose P. Laurel upon the recommendation of Mayor Ramon Fernandez of Manila. Governor Wood intervened on behalf of Conley whom he thought was a victim of dirty politics. Laurel resigned; so did Fernandez. Quezon, as leader of the Filipino participation in the government, led the opposition to Wood which led to what is now known as the Cabinet crisis. The members of the Cabinet and the Council of State resigned **en masse** and Wood, in a moment of holy indignation, charged Quezon and the Filipino Cabinet members with challenging the authority of the United States Government. Quezon had won his point and knowing that he had no issue against Don Juan, he created one by making nationalism an issue. He made it appear that the **Nacionalistas**, especially Don Ramon, were nationalists opposed to the dictatorial tendencies of the American governor-general, while the **Democratas**, headed by Sumulong, were tools of the American governor-general. Quezon made it appear, for lack of valid issues, that Don Ramon, as a **Nacionalista**, was opposed to the dictatorial governor and should, therefore, be elected senator, while Sumulong, as a **Democrata**, was pro-American. Since emotionalism could not and cannot be dissociated completely from nationalism, the Filipino voters were swayed by Quezon's fiery oratory on the necessity of curbing the American governor's imperial predilections and voted for Fernandez. That was in October 1923. His defeat must have taught Don Juan a lesson in politics: that in the Philippine context, it was not necessary to have a sound platform; all that were needed were money and sly methods which, while morally reprehensible, were nevertheless effective in catapulting one to political power. Don Juan, always sensitive to moral issues, never developed Satanic devices and Machiavellian tactics to win an election. He was a stern believer in the power of righteousness, the power of the intellect, the power of reason to make people believe in what he believed in. His purpose in criticizing the administration of Quezon was not to embarrass him—although this may be a side effect—but to focus attention on the crux of the problem—political, social, economic. If, in opposing the majority party, he had succeeded in exposing Quezon's specious reasoning and the dubious political tactics he employed to win adherents, it was because of his perspicacity, his relentless logic, his vision based on realities, and his sincerity which even his political enemies conceded. It was not strange, nor was it unreasonable, for people of all political hues to call him the "Brains of the Opposition."

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*Paper read at the Symposium on Don Juan Sumulong held by the National Historical Commission on December 20, 1974, at the National Library Auditorium, Manila.

Juan Sumulong was born on 27 December 1874, in Antipolo, Rizal province, the son of Policarpio Sumulong and Arcadia Marquez. He received his elementary education from the public school of his hometown and, later, enrolled at the College of San Juan de Letran, where he took his Bachelor of Arts degree. Enrolling at the Pontifical University of Santo Tomas, he read law and passed the bar in 1900. The period encouraged young Filipinos to join the government service which, at the time, commanded the respect of the people. It was a time when educated Filipinos were called upon to show their worth by proving their capacity to learn their lessons in self-government. Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano saw Sumulong's potentialities and recommended him to Civil Governor William H. Taft for appointment as provincial fiscal for Mindoro, but Sumulong chose to practice law. At the same time, he taught law at the old Escuela de Derecho, a secular institution whose faculty was composed of men of learning, culture, and integrity. But the call of the government service was irresistible and Sumulong, when offered the position of judge of the Court of First Instance, accepted the challenge. In 1909, however, he was appointed member of the Philippine Commission, then the upper chamber of the legislative body, a position he held until 1913, when he returned to the practice of law.

From the political standpoint, Don Juan may be said to have involved himself in politics in 1901 as one of the organizers of the Federal Party, whose platform, as envisaged by the scholar Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, was anchored on close cooperation with the Americans and making the Philippines a state of the American Union. For a nationalist and veteran of the Philippine Revolution in which he fought under the banner of Aguinaldo, it seems incongruous that he would join the **Federalistas** of the stripe of Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legarda, and others whom the Americans favored with positions of influence and power. One must study the character of Don Juan to understand why a man of his mind and temper joined such a political organization whose ideology was repugnant to the remnants of the nationalists of 1896-1898. Don Juan joined the Federal Party because of his sincere belief that it was for the good of the Filipino people to evolve a democratic system step by step, in which process the national economy should be developed to such an extent as to make economic independence coincide with political independence. He knew that the Revolution and the Filipino-American War had disrupted the economic activities of the Filipinos and that it would take some time for them to make the economy viable. Insofar as the Federal Party stood for eventual independence, Don Juan was one with it, but he differed from the prominent **Federalistas** headed by Pardo de Tavera in that he did not approve of making the Philippines a state of the American Union. On the other hand, he was repelled by the **Nacionalistas'** platform of immediate, complete, and absolute independence. He thought, and quite correctly, that it was a political gimmick to win votes and was impracticable at the moment. His statesman's vision made him realize that while the **Nacionalistas'** platform could win the votes of the people — as, indeed, it was proved in the election for the Assembly in 1907 — it would nevertheless be disastrous to the people if implemented. He was, in sum, realistic where Osmeña and Quezon were idealistic. The electorate did not see it the way he did and so the many-headed hydra kept him in the opposition all his life. Looking at his role from a different angle, one finds that perhaps it was for the good of the people that he remained in the opposition, for with him and a few others like Claro M. Recto, Ruperto Montinola, and Emiliano Tria Tirona manning the fort, Quezon and his political entourage were prevented, to a certain extent, from freely doing anything they wanted to do. Time, which judges fairly and well, proved Don Juan correct, for Quezon, before and during the Commonwealth era, had expressed privately his misgivings about having political independence without economic stability.

The same perspicacity and integrity led Don Juan to join Quezon in the campaign to discredit the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law which Osmeña and Roxas brought home in 1933. Here as in the previous instance during the heyday of the **Federalistas**, one wonders why Don Juan should join Quezon denouncing the Hare-Hawes-Cutting independence act. To Don Juan, the H-H-C Law, while providing for political independence, was nevertheless so defective in its totality that the independence promised after the ten-year transitional period would amount to a farce. Unlike Quezon whose motive was tainted with selfish considerations, Don Juan's conviction was rooted in the general welfare of the people. He was not after any position in the government, for having been in the opposition almost all his adult life he had developed such capacity for self-sacrifice and suffering as to make him endure political humiliation and material loss. Nobody, not even his political opponents, could accuse him of opportunism, for in all his political actions he had comported himself in a manner which reminded one of Caesar's wife.

Having become senator in 1934, he nevertheless retired from the public service the following year in order to devote his time to the practice of law and the study of the problems that beset the Commonwealth. Realizing the imperfections of the Tydings-McDuffie Law, which in essence was almost a carbon copy of the H-H-C Law, Don Juan, now enjoying a perspective required in order to arrive at a fair judgment, wrote a perceptive brief on the Tydings-McDuffie Law which he supported with reservations. He had at the time headed the consolidated opposition splinter groups who opposed Quezon and his **Nacionalista** Party whose "Pro" and "Anti" wings had in the meanwhile merged to form a powerful monolithic party. There was no real opposition, for Quezon saw to it that the threat to his power and position was dissipated by bickerings. Quezon's genius in splintering the opposition was partly responsible for the lack of any serious opposition to his personal leadership and partly to the opportunism of some opposition leaders who, for one reason or other, abjectly surrendered to Quezon. It was no wonder that Quezon, in his conversations with his adviser, former Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison whom he corrupted during the latter's liberal permissive administration, boasted that he, Quezon, conquered all his political enemies. But Don Juan, always acting on high principles and goaded by his democratic posture, saw to it that Quezon would not enjoy complete peace of mind as Chief Executive. He thus attacked the one-party system which Quezon instituted when, in a public speech delivered in October 1939, Don Juan said:

> Many Filipinos are convinced that the maintenance of an opposition party is essential to the existence of a sound and real democracy. But only a few, I believe, understand that the stability of the Constitution and even its very existence depend in great measure on the maintenance of at least two well-balanced political parties.
>
> Our own experience may be cited as an objective lesson that under the suffocating atmosphere of a single party regime, a country's constitution is sapped of its vitality, and rapidly becomes empty and meaningless.
>
> The political coalition organized before the inauguration of the Commonwealth government, converted later into a fusion of its component parts, was in essence a political monopoly. This political combination was made up of Quezonians, Osmeñistas, and not an inconsiderable fraction of the Democrata opposition. In these circumstances, the process of reviving the opposition had to be long, arduous, and difficult. No wonder Mr. Quezon could now boast cynically that it would take the opposition two generations to rebuild itself upon its own ruins.

He called the " coalition and fusion" of the political parties as "the first victory scored by the enemies of the constitution." In the same speech, Don Juan severely castigated Quezon and his political cronies for proposing that the provincial governors and the municipal mayors be transformed into appointive officials. This was proposed in 1939 but the proposal had its origins in 1936 when Quezon, in a conversation with Harrison, confessed that he was thinking of making the local officials appointive instead of elective. Quezon advanced the theory that appointive local officials could be removed at once if they misbehaved. It was not until 1939 that he floated the idea publicly and had his men campaign for the realization of his idea. Don Juan, in his fearless fight for a truly democratic regime, attacked the proposal as an attempt to camouflage Quezon's wish to make the provincial governors and town mayors his agents in his drive for reelection, for while Quezon was publicly disavowing any intention to amend the constitution in such a way as to change the presidential tenure from six years without reelection to four years with reelection, he was in fact encouraging his political lieutenants to make the necessary amendments to the Constitution of 1935. Don Juan described the Commonwealth government under Quezon and Osmeña as oligarchic and as a betrayal of the people's trust.

He delineated the utter helplessness of the masses under a regime which he, Don Juan, considered far from having any rapport with or sympathy for the masses of the people. He said:

> I do not wish it understood that I favor political status quo in the belief that the existing majority and minority parties represent all the legitimate interests of the country, or because I feel an irrepressible aversion towards sakdalism and communism. In reality, I am of the belief that the majority and minority parties represent almost exclusively the intelligentsia and what we would call the Philippine plutocracy, and that the needy classes have no representation in those parties, and for this reason they have neither voice nor vote, even only as minorities, in the formulation of governmental policies. This belief has often made me wish to see in the legislative and executive branches of the government authorized spokesman of the laboring class, be they called socialists, sakdalists or communists.

Don Juan's keen mind and analytical power led him to believe that if the Quezon-Osmeña oligarchy continued, the masses might find in armed struggle the remedy for the evils of the government managed by oligarchs. Not long after making this statement, the Sakdalistas of the Tagalog provinces rose in revolt and the good earth was tainted wth the copious blood of the peasants. "After the coalition, the deluge," was Don Juan's summary of the political condition of the time.

Don Juan's crusade for a clean and truly democratic government in which the poor and the downtrodden would be represented in the formulation of policies aimed at creating an atmosphere beneficial to all, was a lonely one, for he was almost alone. Recto, the brains behind the scuttling of the Democratic Party, was in the good graces of Quezon and had been appointed to the Supreme Court. The other opposition stalwarts were either dead or inactive. Don Juan's leadership of the allied minorities was more apparent than real, for the leaders of those splinter parties which elected to be called the Popular Front, were men of little or no political consequence. It was a time of bandwagon politics when petty leaders as well as the populace were thinking in terms of the here and now, of personal benefits and concessions. The Commonwealth as a transitional period preparatory to political independence was a period of ferment, of social unrest, and of economic problems. Now a private citizen, Don Juan, enjoying historical perspective, re-assessed the Tydings-McDuffie Law and criticized its impact on the economy of the Philippines. The law provided, he said, "an effective method of terminating our existing economic structure, but it does not furnish guaranties against the overthrow and disintegration of our economic life, much less the means for our economic rehabilitation and reconstruction." With the vision of a prophet, Don Juan wondered why the Filipinos, under the Tydings-McDuffie Law, were not allowed "to establish contacts with new markets so that they may find in them the facilities which were being withdrawn from them in the American market."

But the oligarchs, as Don Juan called Quezon and his political and social friends, did not listen to him, for they thought him visionary, an idealist, floating along with the clouds. But time proved him correct: the Filipinos, with their faith and confidence in America unshaken even by the cruelties and madness of the last war, found their backs to the wall even before retrieving their independence, and became pathetic victims of their naivete and hopeless sentimentalism. Don Juan died on 9 January 1942 soon after the Japanese entered Manila. He never had the personal satisfaction of seeing his predictions and analyses come true. But history is relentlessly faithful and fair and just, and today Don Juan Sumulong's unselfish devotion to the ideals of democracy in which the small people would have a significant part in the business of government is being resurrected by the committed nationalists. When the late Senator Claro M. Recto, Don Juan's former second-in-command in the opposition, picked up, after the last war, the torch that fell from Don Juan's frail but firm hand, he honored the memory of the man with whom, in the days when the **Democrata** opposition was potent, he had fought, with the panoply of learning, all that they believed to be the betrayal of the people's trust. Recto, it must be remembered, never spared the feelings of the Americans and the Filipino leaders who were heart and soul for the maintenance of American bases in the Philippines. In doing so, he repeated what Don Juan, before his death, severely criticized, namely, that any foreign bases in the Philippines would drag the Philippines along the path of an unwanted war, a war not of her own making, and that such bases would attract foreign enemies to the Philippines. Don Juan, therefore, with the vision of a seer, foresaw the prostration of the country before an enemy whom the Americans would not be able to repel. The entry of the Japanese Army into Manila on 2 January 1942, when Don Juan was on the verge of death, must have given him satisfaction, even if a sad satisfaction, that his prediction had come true. He must have muttered weakly: "I told you so." Recto, who was never happy in the company of politicians belonging to the majority, returned, like the prodigal son, to the fold of the opposition or what appeared to be the opposition, for with the death of Don Juan, Recto was the logical choice to lead the opposition. He had been trained in the school of Don Juan and knew by heart his former chief's ideals, convictions, and integrity. Subsequent speeches of Senator Recto, especially his brilliant paper on the American bases, cannot but recall Don Juan's incisive analysis of the same subjects years before the American bases and economic dominance in the Philippines became a reality.

In the political history of the Philippines, two great thinkers and analysts stand out as preeminently successful as seers and prophets: Don Juan Sumulong and Don Claro M. Recto. While Don Claro was a brilliant writer and a master of irony and, certainly, in some respects a better politician, Don Juan excelled in logical thinking and unbending attitude toward questions which, in his way of thinking, were crucial in the resolution of the Philippine problems. He was much ahead of Don Claro as thinker and prophet. A study of Don Juan's works and those of Don Claro will reveal the similarity, in many respects, of their ideas.

Don Juan may not have reached the acme of political success in the sense that he occupied the highest position in the political hierarchy of the Philippines, but certainly his immortality lies not in his having occupied high positions in the government, but in focusing the spotlight on the serious problems of state, more particularly on the rights of the downtrodden people to live a decent life. The problems that we face today had been foreseen by Don Juan at a time when it was hazardous tell the truth. That Don Juan did not falter in his duty to defend the people against the onslaught of imperial pretensions, local and foreign, is a measure of his greatness as man and statesman. His moral and intellectual crusade was one in which the beneficiaries were the poor, the salt of the earth. He was, in truth, the poor man's statesman.

MY FATHER AS A FAMILY MAN: JUAN M. SUMULONG*

By Mrs. Lumen Sumulong Boncan

It is my pleasant task to recall the times, when I, and the rest of the family, lived with my father, the late Senator Juan Sumulong. I remember him best, as a father, whose efforts were directed towards giving us all the opportunities in life. He was a kind and solicitous father.

My father was a disciplinarian. He believed in the folk saying that as the twig is bent, so the tree inclines. Money was never given to us freely; only for our important needs in school. Staying out late was not also permitted and going often to parties was not allowed. When any member of the family commits a fault, he does not scold nor punish but instead, he only makes a clear, understandable reprimand, whose worth, I could only realize in later years. He was full of dignity that we respected even his footsteps. He was thrifty. He inculcated in us the virtue of thrift, that life is simple, if we only spend less than what we earn. My father and mother always lived within their means.

As I was the eldest among the children, he expected me to look after my younger brothers and sisters. That I must close the windows when they change their clothes, so that they do not catch cold. That they should always have their hands clean before they sit at the table. When any member of the family becomes sick, he would spend long hours even late at night watching over us, as he was most attentive to our needs.

He was, likewise, a devoted husband. My mother was a real helpmate who attended to the business in the farm, while he, my father, was busy in his profession as a lawyer. He was of a frail constitution. He worked so hard that he often got sick. There was a time when he was told by his physicians to take a rest in Switzerland to help restore his health.

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*Paper read at the Symposium on Juan Sumulong held by the National Historical Commission on December 20, 1974, at the National Library Auditorium, Manila.

He was not only good to us, his children, he was also helpful to his poor relatives. We always had relatives, some of whom were orphans who lived with us for many years, until they formed their own families because he gave them each an education, ranging from one who became an engineer, an agriculturist, a dentist, to a veterinarian and a teacher.

He lost his mother at the early age of twelve, leaving only his father, whom he adored deeply. He was the only child. His father became the guiding hand in his life, inspiring him to work hard to obtain a complete education. He worked and studied at the same time.

He was an artist by nature. He loved music and the arts. In his travels abroad, he collected paintings, gold and silver coins and objects of arts. Unfortunately, these were lost during the liberation, likewise his big library.

Reading was one of his favorite pastimes. Many hours were spent in his room with books for companions. He read in Spanish, English and French.

He also loved plants. He used to collect seedlings and planted them in his farm. Planting was one of his hobbies. He had mangoes, santol, bananas, pineapple, cacao, coffee, etc. He beamed with satisfaction when the trees were laden with fruits. He used to tell me, if he could start his life again, he would choose to be an agriculturist. He found his farm a respite from his work and a haven. In his late years, when he retired from his law practice, he spent more days here. Many of his best articles were written in the farm. He found peace and quiet which inspired him to write more.

His diet was simple and wholesome. He preferred **sinigang na dalag, tinolang manok** and **inihaw na isda.** Fruits were his delight and some light dessert. He was easily pleased.

He was meticulous in his clothing. He used to go to the best tailor in town. His taste was very conservative, although he chose the best materials. He also wore the **chaleco** when the weather was not too warm. He carried a **baston** once in a while.

The early success in his public life he took in stride. Neither did the usual ills and disappointments bring any material change in his placid self. His mind it seemed was firmly rooted in belief and traditions and virtue.

He found time for his grandchhildren, as they came along in his career and political life. Our family reunions were very happly moments for him. He used to look forward to them. He called the little children and caressed them. Family unity it seemed had extended beyond those times when we sensed his quiet, careful presence across the dining table.

He always attended Sunday Mass and also brought his family along with him. During Holy Week, he meditated much. He kept reading the Bible. One of his favorite chapters was the Sermon on the Mount.

Father was a man without vice. All the fruits of his labor were lavished on us. He never created enemies. He used to stress to us that we must always apply the golden rule in dealing with our fellowmen.

I will always remember my father as a reserved, kind and gentle person, a truly virtuous father. He cared so much for his family and I feel we owe everything to him.

METHODOLOGY OF HISTORY: A BEHAVIORAL ANALYSIS

By Roman Dubsky

The problem of methodology is one of the most difficult and most puzzling problems in historical research. If history's **metier**, as historians have traditionally believed, is the "unique" experience of the past, how can its explanations allow us the kind of certainty and reliability which all legitimate scientific inquiry is said to demand? The irreversibility of historical events appears to make such events empirically suspect, a highly unsuitable material for normal methods of scientific explanation. Or (we may ask further) how does the preoccupation of the historian with the unique or particular square with the aim of most social scientists which is increased objectivity or universality? Does such a highly circumscribed preoccupation exclude the historian from legitimate science, reducing history to mere impressionistic, artistic creation? Indeed, the very claim of historians that there is a difference between "good" and "bad" history may be in question, for can we really draw a criterion of demarcation to separate the objective from the non-objective, indeed, to determine what the objective is supposed to be in the first place? What is at issue here is the methodological problem of validation of historical explanations, of objective validity of such explanations.

The present article is an attempt to provide an answer to at least some of these puzzling questions and to clarify the major methodological problems which are at the heart of historical inquiry. More specifically, the writer proposes to identify the major difficulties that are present in the contemporary methodology of historical research — difficulties arising out of claims of history that it is a scientific discipline — and to suggest how such difficulties can, conceivably, be overcome or at least mitigated. The present argument is an implicit plea for a more scientific treatment of history, "scientific" here meaning not the rational-speculative approach in, for instance, the Hegelian sense, but an approach that professes adherence to normal criteria of empirical science, to factual experience and observable social conduct, which is the hallmark of all contemporary scientific thought.

The writer's argument is based on an influential work, **A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis,** written by Robert F. Berkhofer, an American philosopher. In this work, Berkhofer develops our theme at great length and with a wealth of illustrations, suggesting its usefulness and applicability to professional historians. By now, Berkhofer's work is not exactly new in terms of date (1969), still the message which it tries to convey appears far from having been adequately absorbed and to be sufficiently original to enrich our understanding of some of the basic problems involved in scientific pursuit of historical research, indeed, of scientific research in all social disciplines.[1]

Methodological developments

It is the implication of Berkhofer's argument that contemporary methodology of historical research suffers from relative backwardness. To appreciate this statement, we must highlight at least the principal methodologic advances that, over the last few decades, have taken place in other social disciplines.[2]

First, a new methodological climate is said to have become manifest, away from rigid criteria of validation, associated with the positivist ideal of "value-free" science (that dominated the methodological scene, at least in the West, during the first half of this century), in the direction of more pragmatic approaches, more tolerant, more "permissive" scientific attitudes. Objectivity — a key-concept in science — has lost some of its former self-confidence and glamor, as the presence of value-element has increasingly been recognized in all scientific judgment, not only as logically unavoidable but even as operationally desirable.[3]

In the second place, there have been developments of new approaches to the handling and interpreting of data in science. Two notable instances here are the behavioral approaches and the systems approaches. These have deeply affected not only the disciplines in which they originated, but have spilled over to other disciplines of social science as well. They have been fruitfully employed, for instance, in such different areas as organizational theory, anthropological interpretations and political science, providing useful models for interpreting a great many phenomena of social life. Here, the new orientation has brought all social disciplines into closer cooperation, made us aware of the essential affinity of all social inquiry and resulted in new inter-disciplinary approaches, thus vastly extending the area of contemporary social theory and practice.

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[1] Robert F. Berkhofer, **A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis** (New York: Free Press, 1969).

[2] See the writer's article "Limitations of Methodology in Social Science," **Philippine Journal of Public Administration**, Vol. XVII, No. 4, October 1973.

[3] **Ibid.**, pp. 411-412, 416.

Such recent developments have placed the issue of methodology in fresh perspective. They appear to have had salutary effects on current methodological thought, in that they have provided more rigorous, more precise and adequate criteria, more in accord with latest theories and practice in social science. For the new permissiveness was not allowed to overwhelm the "normal" criteria of scientific propriety. However tolerant the new tendency might have been of value-impregnated judgment, it did not fail to pursue the traditional (i.e., positivist) idea of scientific objectivity as its ultimate and ideal goal. Persuasive arguments in defense of traditional methodological commitments, now suitably modified, have been developed to accommodate reasonably the new demands for methodological flexibity and more value-oriented social science, without undue sacrifice of fundamental principles of the orthodox scientific method.[4] Moreover, a major consequence of such developments has been the emergence of new methodological consciousness. The necessity of sound methodological principles has come to be increasingly emphasized in all areas of social research. Even more, the value of theoretic models — used as methodological devices — has been widely realized.

It was perhaps inevitable that the new methodological controversy would, in time, also affect historical thinking. This was only to be expected, for the discipline of history (it is often forgotten) is also a social discipline — dealing with man or social life in the setting of the past — and as such can hardly exclude itself from developments taking place in other social disciplines. Complete isolation of history from current social thought could only be effected at the risk of history losing its claim to scientific status, at least in the eyes of the public and of the international community of experts in other scientific fields, who, if Kuhn is to be believed, are the ultimate arbiters of general scientific acceptability.[5] The purpose of this study is in a sense to bring the methodological story, this time in history, up to date, to extend the methodological advances which we have mentioned to contemporary historical theory and practice.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 410-417.

History as non-fiction

A student of history whose aim is a sound "scientific" criterion for historical research must, as a starting point of his investigation, rescue history from all "non-scientific" aspects and must have a clear view of what "scientific" history is all about. This roughly is Berkhofer's starting point. First, Berkhofer rigorously rejects the treatment of history as fictitious story-telling, which he identifies with most of traditional history writing. Here, he suggests that in the past historical enterprise often has tended to be distorted to suit the stylistic convenience of the writer, while the scientific element has been treated in a cavalier, uncritical manner. For him, history is more than mere "art." The artistic element should be given its proper due, for stylistic elegance is an important factor in making history writing attractive and more legible, but it remains only of secondary importance. What is more important is the writer's ability to render his **tableaux** of the past with as much accuracy and overall coherence as reasonably possible, with due regard for available empirical facts. The purpose of Berkhofer's inquiry into historical research is, accordingly, to strengthen the empirical element in historical studies, to endow such studies with the like objectivity and reliability that can be said to be present in other social disciplines.

A non-fictitious view of history necessitates a clear idea of the purpose of historical enterprise, for this should set the direction for our subsequent argument. In brief, Berkhofer accepts the classical view of the historian, associated, for instance, with Collingwood, but with a significant deviation from it. He admits that the task of the historian rests in his imaginative reconstruction of the past, but he denies that such a task is essentially a work of the writer's imagination, a product of his intuitive understanding of certain historical facts. In Berkhofer's opinion, intuition or imagination plays a significant role in the historian's comprehension of his experience, but they are not the primary mover, so to speak, in historical research and no historian who pretends to science should depend on these alone. Berkhofer is distrustful of all claims to intuitive historical insight as well as of grand historical generalizations. For him, rather, truth to history demands optimal use of available empirical facts and optimal accuracy in handling such facts.

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[5] See T. S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Because of his primary dependence on his empirical evidence, the historian must be ever-conscious of certain constraints with regard to available evidence. Frequently, he has but a limited number of actual facts at his disposal, often highly unreliable or biased at that. It is only within this circumscribed area of "remaining evidence," where he can be said to be really safe. Berkhofer maintains that what we call historical reality is of necessity "only an image or hypothetical conception," vastly incomplete, of the actual past, based on scanty evidence. He implies that a good historian is one who is humble enough to admit this.

Still, despite such constraints, the study of history is more than a mere subjective pursuit of events of the past that can be rescued only by exciting artistic treatment. Berkhofer strongly affirms the possibility of objective historical study, that "a once existent past can be comprehended."[6] This, indeed, is what perhaps all historians believe, although they are not always in agreement as to what the objective past actually was or how it should be interpreted. A scientific concept of history, like Berkhofer's, implies, however, the existence of an objective past reality that somehow existed in its own right, independent of our comprehension of it. It is this objective reality that the historian is asked to reconstruct from available historical evidence, however scanty. No fictional elements, no inspired insight can free the historian from the constraints which his evidence reveals. On the contrary, such elements only tend to detract him from what he — qua scientist — should be concerned with, namely, available facts.

Theoretical framework

Berkhofer is not one of the students of history who subscribe to the rather discredited notion that facts of the past speak for themselves. On the contrary, such facts to make sense and acquire meaning must first be interpreted or given an appropriate intelligible form. Even more, they should be expressed in terms of a sound theoretical framework, of suitable social models or paradigms.

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[6] Berkhofer, op. cit., p. 12.

As Berkhofer perceives it, theory or theoretical framework is central to successful pursuit of historical research, to sound methodology of history, as this may also be said to be the case in other social disciplines. The success or failure of a historical work depends largely upon the theory or conceptual model that the writer employs to explain the given historical evidence. He contends that the use of some conceptual framework is inevitable (unless the work is chaotic). What is presently needed — if we are to improve the quality of our scholarship in history — is better theories, more substantive models than those made use of in the past. The old theories are outdated for present-day use, in the sense of being inadequate to capture the complexity and sophistication which may be said to characterize modern intelligent man and contemporary advanced social science.

A sound theoretical framework is, moreover, needed for at least two specific reasons. The first is that, as we have noted, surviving evidence in history is often relatively incomplete. This presumably means that the bones of historical evidence must be given flesh and life, must be made "meaningful," which only the historian can do. But if his explanation is to be rational, it must take place within a certain conceptual framework and must be based on consistent assumptions. The second reason is that historical research is a highly selective process in which the historian chooses only certain aspects of the past, those fitting into the historical argument which he pursues. Theory is here to guide him in taking the "right" direction, in presenting the available data in a coherent way. Again, facts do not speak for themselves. They must be manipulated, which is then effected on the basis of appropriate conceptual frameworks. In Berkhofer's expression, "Historical facts are really only propositions about the past based upon the remaining evidence and how these propositions fit into a general interpretative scheme already postulated."[7] Or as he has put it elsewhere, "an historical synthesis is a highly selective account of a postulated past reality. Theory in the most general sense is crucial to every phase of historiography."[8]

It is obvious that for Berkhofer the dependence of historical research on theory or theoretical models is overwhelming. The kind of theoretic framework which we employ may, so to speak, make or break the scientific credibility of our historical findings. It is, for instance, the difference in theoretical models that accounts for the variety of interpretations of the same historical events. Here, Berkhofer suggests, every historian tends to have his own peculiar model or conception of social life, characteristic of the times he lives in, "theoretical conceptions prevalent in his own society," which then explains "why history must be and is rewritten constantly in terms of the historian's own times."[9]

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[7] Ibid., p. 12.
[8] Ibid., p. 23.

Such prevalence of many theoretic frameworks to choose from, leading to frequent differences in the interpretation of identical events, must be a frustrating experience to a practicing historian, yet Berkhofer is confident that it is not fatal to the pursuit of history as an objective, empirical study. For one thing, constraints on the applicability of social theories are likewise present in nearly all generalizations of social science, this being due to the ever-changing nature of human experience. Thus social theories must be periodically revised and modified to remain applicable to current reality or simply to enrich our understanding of the past. For another thing, all science suffers from certain limitations with regard to empirical data, for scientific reasoning is a highly abstract activity, essentially (as e.g., Popper has argued) hypothetical-deductive in character. Even the natural scientist approaches his subject on the basis of a particular scientific conceptual outlook (usually inherited from the past) and tends to develop new theories on the basis of some general scheme analytically conceived. That is, some guiding ideas (or hypotheses) come first, the actual empirical evidence comes later. The Baconian idea of a perfect, induction-based science is, then. not realized in practice, for it would not get us very far in the progress of scientific knowledge with its overemphasis on immediate "facts" or bare experience, as against theory.

Theoretical variety need not per se be bad. Ideally, this should attest to the capacity of science to throw new light on social life as our scientific experience has been enriched by new developments or as our comprehension of social reality has been extended. Moreover, a certain variety in theory may be beneficial to enable us to choose from models most fitting for the particular purpose at hand. Still, it is obvious that not all theories would do or would be of equal respectability from the point of view of contemporary social science. Indeed, scientific treatment of history admits only such theories as objectively sound that can establish themselves as true or workable on the basis of empirical evidence. In Berkhofer's expression, "What makes theoretical structures or interpretations scientific and objective is whether or not they can be confirmed or disproven by test of evidence, not whether they exist or not."[10]

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[9] Ibid., p. 24.

Difficulties in historical research

The availability of sound conceptual frameworks, although a necessary prerequisite, does not solve, however, all the difficulties that scientifically conducted research encounters. There are certain difficulties, considering also the possibility of overcoming these, at least easy conduct of empirical historical research and which are largely absent, or at least are methodologically more manageable, in, say, the natural sciences. We shall briefly elaborate on three such major difficulties, considering also the possibility of overcoming these, at least partially.

The first of such difficulties is the relative paucity of sources. This point has been developed above, that historical reconstruction is often undertaken on the basis of very limited evidence. Berkhofer uses the term "surviving" or "remaining" evidence, as if the "actual" reality — whatever this might have been — contained an immeasurably greater wealth or variety of aspects. This undoubtedly leaves much room for the imagination of the writer to fill in the missing history, a practice that has so often distorted history writing and has brought historical research in disrepute. Still, it may be contended that difficulties of this nature are not necessarily insurmountable. For one thing, the trained eye of a historian can discern a great deal from relatively scanty evidence on the basis of previous experience or training. For another, today's historian is much better equipped than historians of the past to deal even with complex problems of social life. He has at his disposal a wealth of science-based theories in place of former speculative ideas. In interpreting his data, he can choose among such theories those that are operationally soundest, most suitable to the purpose at hand, the best that contemporary science can offer.

The second difficulty in historical research arises from the one-sidedness of interpretation on the part of the historian. He frequently tends to confuse the role of his historical actors with their own perception of such a role. There is a difference between how the actors perceived the events unfolding before their eyes and how things actually were, between subjective experience and objective reality. These two streaks have to be disentangled first before proper historical perspective can be obtained. More precisely, both the subjective and objective elements should be accommodated. Too often, the historian simply takes the word of his actors at their face value and so distorts his perspective. Another case of distortion due to one-sidedness is one of interpreting historical events purely from the "present-day point of view," say of nationalism or of another ideological commitment, as affording a superior objective insight. Here, at its worst, actors are reduced to mere puppets manipulated to suit the convenience of the writer and history is downgraded to serve as a tool for propagating some currently popular idea and so becomes a form of propaganda. We shall see in our subsequent argument how Berkhofer proposes to overcome this particular difficulty.

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[10] Ibid, p. 26.

The last difficulty has to do with the claim of history that its subject-matter is "unique" in character. It claims to deal with unique occurrences that can never be reproduced in the sense in which, under certain conditions, many social experiments can be reproduced. This makes it virtually impossible to check the veracity of historical statements. Thus one canon of science appears to have been broken, namely, repeatability, which is generally taken as one indicator of reliable scientific findings. The problem of historical uniqueness goes, however, even deeper than mere assertion of particularity or singleness of historical events. It implies a special conception of time and space that is distinct from the normal spatial and temporal perspective of science. Scientific notions of spatiality and temporality imply generality or universality of experience, despite the changing space and time perspective. In dealing with particular situations, science tends to merely dissect the universal into smaller, more manageable parts. Historical uniqueness, on the other hand, makes time-space experience real only for particular events. This implies a holistic view of human experience, perception of particular events in their cosmic totality, as it were, with strictly nothing less than the whole doing justice to the experience at hand. Thus no particular event can be generalized in the sense of science, as being but mere instance of a more general pattern, of a universal law.

Berkhofer's position here, in defense of history, involves roughly two arguments. The first is that, strictly speaking, uniqueness is not confined to history alone. As we have already suggested, all sciences — especially the social sciences — suffer from certain constraints os the applicability or generality of their findings. For example, nearly all behavioral, psychological or political generalizations have to be properly qualified, that they are strictly valid only under certain conditions, which, usually, can never be perfectly reproduced. Thus scientific objectivity is a matter of degree rather than an attainable goal. The second argument is that historical uniqueness may be objectively manageable, namely, by way of a methodologically sound "interpretation." Some interpretations of historical events are good or more adequate, others bad or inadequate. A sound interpretation is one that succeeds in "objectifying" its findings as much and as widely as possible in the empirical sense. We shall see in our subsequent argument how Berkhofer tackles this difficulty present in all historical study.

Behavioral perspective

Berkhofer's own preference for a theoretical framework that would offer a basis for a sound interpretation of historical experience is the "behavioral perspective" or "behavioral approach," as he calls it. By this he means, roughly, the theories that are being advanced in the contemporary social sciences, particularly sociology, anthropology and psychology. Present-day historical research should make use of latest developments in these "behavioral sciences," selecting the most useful among them for its own peculiar historical purpose.

In reading Berkhofer, it is immediately evident, however, that, although he uses the label of behaviorism, he does not subscribe to the Watsonian type of psychology which frequently passes for official behaviorism. On the contrary, he insists on the presence of an "intervening variable" in human behavior, namely, of human organism which has peculiar qualities of its own. Thus the old behaviorist formula, associated with Watson, that reads: S-R (stimulus-response) is abandoned in favor of: S-O-R (stimulus-organism-response). Berkhofer implies that more factors are relevant in our evaluation of historical action and of historical actors than mere overt behavior of man. More adequate understanding of historical actions or actors demands consideration of a multiplicity of motivations or causative factors in human behavior, a multidimensional reading of human personality.

Berkhofer identifies subsequently the major causative factors that, in his opinion, play a crucial role in human conduct and our understanding of it. One such factor is general in character; Berkhofer identifies it with what he calls "the situation." Others are more specific; Berkhofer identifies these as "personality, society and culture."

The situation

"The situation" is, in Berkhofer's thesis, a basic historical and behavioral concept, of crucial importance in his behavioral perspective and historical analysis. "This [behavioral] approach," Berkhofer states, "begins with the proposition that human behavior occurs in situations."[11] What Berkhofer means by "situation" is the totality of an event, both as it is perceived by historical actors themselves and as it unfolds in a wider social and cultural setting.

His approach to historical research, he suggests, is essentially a "situational" approach. This is then said to consist in the analysis of a given situation in terms of all the multi-dimensionality of aspects which it entails. It takes into account how historical actors themselves define and interpret the situation and also the "external" environment, such as the social, cultural, psychological factors, that is, both subjective and objective elements. Berkhofer's aim is to capture the situation in its entirety, the whole man. To do justice to a historical situation, he contends, we must appreciate the given historical reality through the prism of many-sided experience. In his words,

> Situational analysis studies the behavior of the whole human being in reaction to the totality of the situation as interpreted by the organism. At the same time, the observer can attempt to account for these behavioral manifestations in terms of aims, motives, drives, physical environment, and the societal arrangements that made for such an assessment of interpretation by the organism.[12]

More fully, Berkhofer insists, in our situational analysis we must draw a clear distinction "at the least, between the ideational and the behavior, between inter- and intrapersonal processes, and between actors and observers,"[13] in brief between the various forms of actors' and observers' behavioral perceptions whose mixing commonly leads to confusion and distortion in our interpretation. Such useful distinctions that should be kept in mind may then be simplified into a set of rules.[14] We should, for instance, (1) determine the actor's interpretation of the situation, (2) discover the actor's behavior in the situation, and (3) detect the feedback to the actor. This should answer our question whether the actor's behavior agreed or not with the actor's intended (alleged) aim. In addition, we should (4) establish the "real" situation of the actor, as the observer sees it, (5) trace the consequences both anticipated and unanticipated of the actor's actions, and (6) compare the previous steps and establish connections. The last step would then be effected by means of sound theoretic models or interpretations fitting for the different behavioral levels and categories that are relevant to the situation. As Berkhofer sees it, only this — systematic and comprehensive (although complex) — type of historical analysis can yield methodologically satisfactory results. Only it can give us a fully "integrated" picture of what the actual situation was really like. As he has put it, "Historical study..., in my view, is the combination of the actors' and observer's level of analysis into a unified representation of past reality. Written history is an attempt to see a complex human past through the many-sided prism of the behavioral approach to man. Anything less distorts and confuses the representation of the past."[15] The purpose of Berkhofer's rigorous situational analysis is, of course, a methodological purpose, to ensure as much as possible veracity to actual facts. Historical research that is unduly dependent on either the actor's motivations or the observer's sentiment can hardly be regarded as based on methodological criteria that would be acceptable in other social disciplines.

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[11] Ibid. p. 32.

[12] Ibid., p. 33.

[13] Ibid., p. 46.

[14] Ibid., p. 73.

Personality, society and culture

The element of personality is one of the basic elements both in Berkhoferian behaviorism and in Berkhofer's historical analysis. In brief, Berkhofer rejects the various classical attempts to reduce man to one simple, universal nature. For him, man is a highly complex being who does not lend himself to easy classifications. For historical analysis, the most important aspect of human personality is perhaps the distinction between the conscious and the unconscious levels in human conduct. Historical studies, Berkhofer argues, tend frequently to overemphasize the conscious motives or intentions behind the actions of actors and miss or underplay the unconscious or irrational motives. Sound methodological principles demand, however, that both types of motivation be accommodated, that the element of intentiality be evaluated critically and oversimplified accounts of human nature be discarded. Berkhofer's purpose is, of course, to determine with exactness — or at least with more exactness than it frequently has been the case in historical studies — to what extent the professed intentions were also the real intentions, to put it differently, to establish the difference, if any, and the degree of such a difference, between the actors' professed or conscious reasons for their action and their "real" reasons.

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[15] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

Rejection of certain personality models does not, however, mean rejection of all such models. We have noted that the consideration of theory and of conceptual models is one of the most significant — and most valuable — parts of Berkhofer's methodological argument. What must be rejected are merely methodologically weak or outdated models, such as Aristotle's assumption of essential human rationality.

Berkhofer mentions a few principal behavioral models that have gained prominence in contemporary social science. Influential are, for instance, certain up-dated versions of the classical model of economic man and the various so-called game and decision-making theories have also acquired considerable popularity. All these may be said to imply the "rational-man" model of explanation; they are attempts to relate intentionality to conscious goal-seeking conduct. Other currently influential models are based on social and cultural structures, such as Talcott Parsons'. Berkhofer contends that the usefulness of all such models cannot be underrated, for they make it possible for the historical analyst to interpret the behavior of his actors in a consistent, coherent and comprehensive way, and so to make it intelligible to the reader. Yet all appear to have certain weaknesses. One major weakness, we have noted above, is that they tend to read too much rationality into human conduct, overlooking irrational or non-rational elements.

The historian in choosing one model in preference for another should be guided by considerations of methodological propriety. He should choose a model that would yield maximal information on the basis of available evidence. Berkhofer here is in favor of methodological flexibility and pragmatism. Still, he does appear to think that the "dispositional approach" to human actions might be able to reveal the real motives in human behavior with greatest success. He conceives "dispositional statements" as based on the tendency for the same events to recur. To confirm his findings, the historian would presumably need only "evidence of recurrence."

Such dispositional approach could then be usefully applied both to conscious and unconscious behavior, such as habits, conventional conduct, instincts, etc. Even here, some form of rational causative explanation might, however, have to be followed.

Society and culture are the two remaining components of the behavioral trinity that constitutes, for Berkhofer, the foundation of historical analysis. Unlike many other writers, Berkhofer does not claim these two concepts to be identical. Society, roughly, implies a wider horizon of social interaction, "total behavioral interdependence," while culture implies more specific traits, commonly shared outlook or values, "a group's total common ideation."[16] The separation of these two concepts should, in Berkhofer's view, make it easier for us to "determine empirically what is shared or not shared by whom,"[17] concretely to determine whether, or to what degree, the people studied possess a distinct culture or constitute mere aggregates of individuals.

What Berkhofer is after is to sharpen the critical tools in terms of which the historian surveys the past. The modern historian should know better (than he usually does): he should not take such concepts as society or culture for granted. He should become conscious of the difference between them, which will presumably place him in a better position to analyze the given situation and the role played by the actors in it. Again, Berkhofer's concern is essentially a methodological concern with more effective, more exact, ultimately more objective history writing, to be steeped as much as possible in empirical evidence.

Closely connected with his argument about society and culture-generated modes of behavior is Berkhofer's argument about group behavior. The purpose of this argument is, again, methodological, to add more precision to the analysis of historical situations, in this case, by refining our behavioral concepts. Following recent developments in other social sciences, particularly the anthropologist Clyde Kluckholm, Berkhofer proposes to differentiate group behavior into three modes for the purpose of behavioral analysis — the actual, the expected and the ideal. In his view, such differentiation may be a valuable contribution to cultural and social theory, because it may shed new light on the causes of historical actions.

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[16] Ibid., p. 96.
[17] Ibid., p. 95.

The problem of explanation

In the second part of his methodological argument, Berkhofer shifts his focus from the means by which the historian may strengthen the objective element in historical research, from behavioral theory, to a problem which he considers as of no less importance to the success of scientifically conducted historical inquiry, the problem of explanation in history. Here the question that will be asked is whether explanations of historical events given by historians can be regarded as universally valid in the sense in which most findings of social science may be said to enjoy universal validity. Or are historical explanations but impressionistic products, of no justifiable claim to law-like validity?

To put it simply, in the course of their study of the past historians cannot avoid making certain assertions which involve more than mere "description" of relevant facts. They involve "explanation" of such facts as well, as historians themselves perceive them. Thus explanation, Berkhofer insists, is an inevitable part of all historical judgment. Now it is obvious that the historian's task of explanation may be discharged well or badly, presumably depending on whether he can, or cannot, render the events of the past objectively more intelligible, more universal in scope. From this it follows that the scientific credibility or methodological soundness of historical research should depend to a large extent on the explanation which the historian is able to provide.

More specifically, history writing, Berkhofer contends, is more than mere "chronicle" of events of the past. Rather it is a combination of two levels of explanation, the first comprising descriptive statements of historical facts (it answers the questions "who, what, when, how"), the second comprising explanatory statements concerning such facts (it answers the question "why", such as "Why did this happen?", "Why was this as it was?"). Explanatory statements aim to determine the possible causes of events described. Berkhofer is particularly concerned with the second level of explanation. He contends that explanation of this type does not simply emerge from the facts available to the historian. Rather it is as much an idea originating in the mind of the historian that then guides the treatment of historical evidence. Explanation, as he puts it, "seeks to render a statement about some phenomena intelligible by linking it to other statements in a certain manner,."[18]

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[18] Ibid., p. 270.

Again, for him, history does not speak for itself, but is largely dependent, and inevitably so, on the historian's explanatory power.

Objective explanations that would fulfill the scientific demand for universality are, however, not easy to come about in historical study. History does not appear to lend itself to facile universalization, for it tends, in many respects, to contradict the established canons of scientific propriety. For one thing, the historian deals with the "unique," unrepeatable experience, while social scientists show preference for recurrent experience. He is interested in the particular, while the latter focus their attention on the generality of social phenomena. They are concerned with the particular only insofar as particular phenomena can be ordered in a repetitive series. As Berkhofer has observed, historians study personages like Napoleon or Caesar as important historical phenomena, not just as examples of political leadership, as political scientists tend to do. They feel that "the non-recurrent is as or more important than the recurrent."[19] For another thing, the historian's interest is in the whole of a given reality, the totality of experience, "to study man's actions as holistically as possible,"[20] while social scientists tend to focus their attention on particular factors or experience. Such differences between history and other social disciplines appear to be significant deviations from "normal" scientific procedures, which, in the eyes of many, puts in question the claim of historians that their generalizations about the past are objectively valid.

It is, in a sense, remarkable that the historian's claim to objectivity of historical statements has remained unchallenged for so long, despite the methodological weaknesses we have just mentioned. In the past, it seems, this apparent reluctance to look more critically at the nature of historical objectivity was partly due to the enormous prestige and the leading position that historical scholarship or tradition had gained for itself in intellectual thought, at least in Europe, as against the relative novelty of many other social disciplines. More importantly, however, the idea of historical objectivity in terms of a "unique" experience of the past was not regarded as unmanageable for the purpose of objective explanation. It was somehow assumed that the narrative style generally used then would provide a sufficient glue to integrate or synthesize the material at hand, so effecting a unity both of form and content in historical writing. At any rate the objectivity of the material was believed to be sufficiently evident, so that all the historian had to do was to give the evident historical facts an appropriate literary expression. The historian was trusted for his special insight into historical events and as a philosophy-minded person to be capable of imposing the necessary conceptual unity on such events, which should then make it possible for his explanation to become objectively valid. That, incidentally, was the heyday of elitist and philosophic-didactic history writing. It may be noted that, on this "traditional" approach, objectivity in historical explanation depended largely on the personal qualities of the historian, such as his professional competence, depth and breadth of understanding and his intellectual honesty in treating his subject.

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[19] Ibid., p. 267.
[20] Ibid., p. 266.

Much of Berkhofer's criticism, indeed wrath, is directed exactly against such traditional views of historical objectivity. Yes, he accepts the traditional claim to uniqueness of historical events, but at the same time he refuses to identify such a claim with peculiar insight of particular men, however experienced or well-trained. Overemphasis on historical uniqueness, he suggests, has made the historian complacent, uncritical and to take the unique for granted. In his expression, "For far too long the historian has trusted to implicit biases that he shared with his audience to provide the connections among the events he merely listed as concurrent or consecutive on the time scale of his narrative."[21] Berkhofer next contends that the time has come to reverse the order, to take a more critical view of historical objectivity. Analytic precision in historical study, he insists, demands the specification of what is exactly supposed to be the unique, to make explicit the connections that are present in the historian's vision of the unique, in his "objective explanation." In his view, historical objectivity can only be attained when it is supported by objectifiable, law-like statements, based on solid empirical analysis of all the major factors, that may be said to constitute the objective unity of the events of the past under study.

The logic of explanation

Conceived more broadly, objectivity in history may be said to involve a logic of its own, which differs to a degree from that of other social disciplines. In short, in historical explanation, neither should excessive "particularity" be allowed to repress the interest of the universal, nor excessive "universality" be permitted to overwhelm the interest of the particular. Rather, there must be a proper balance between the two elements.. This position on Berkhofer's part is evident from his criticism of two influential positions on historical explanation.

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[21] Ibid., p. 268.

His first criticism is directed against the traditional narrative manner of history writing, already touched upon in our previous argument. This he identifies with 19th-century traditions of history writing, such as represented by George Macaulay, Trevelyan and C. V. Wedgewood. He obviously thinks that such traditions expose history to the danger of historical "impressionism." On this position, he maintains, "written history... has as its ideal the fusion of evocation and explanation within a descriptive chronology,"[22] historical facts being regarded as self-revelatory and historical explanations somehow emerging out of such facts. Berkhofer views such a position as the Achillės' heel of historical writing, for it has been widely exploited — not without some justification — to discredit historical generalizations as lacking objective validity. For Popper, for example, such generalizations reflect but "trivial laws,"[23] and Carl Hempel sees them at best as "historical sketches,"[24] not a sustained, law-like objective position.

Berkhofer's second criticism is directed against the powerful logical-positivist party in modern theory of science, particularly against the Popper-Hempel hypothetico-deductive model of scientific explanation. On such explanation, to explain a phenomenon objectively is to deduce it from some general "covering" or universal law under which it can be subsumed. That is, synthetic thinking may be said to be a precondition of conscious inductive experience. In Popper's words, "To give a causal explanation of an event means to deduce a statement which describes it, using as premises of the deduction one or more universal laws, together with certain singular statements, the initial conditions."[25]

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[22] Ibid., p. 276.

[23] Karl R. Popper, **The Open Society and Its Enemies** (Harper ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1963), Vol. 2, p. 264.

[24] Carl Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History," reprinted in Hempel's **Aspects of Scientific Explanation and Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science** (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. 238.

[25] Karl R. Popper, **The Logic of Scientific Discovery** (Harper ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 59.

Applied to historical explanation, the Popperian position would presumably demand indiscriminate application of the same general ("covering") law to all phenomena of the past, disregarding the historical or time element involved. For the covering-law theorists, Berkhofer suggests, "retroduction, as they sometimes call it, and prediction are therefore similar operations."[26] What for them is important is not so much the factual or "chronicle" element in historical explanation, but rather the ability of facts to fit into a "pre-determined" general law. Berkhofer does not, however, condemn such position off-hand as useless for purposes of historical study. He refers to its successful application in a recent historical study by D.C. North, an American economic historian,[27] who grounded his argument "on good theoretical foundation," namely, economic theory. Still, Berkhofer contends, in the last resort North has failed in his task as a historian, partly by giving insufficient weight to the chronicle element, thus only demonstrating "the insufficiency of the covering-law model to be both the sole goal and the sole method of historiography."[28] For Berkhofer, both levels of explanation — description and explanation proper — are necessary to well-conducted historical inquiry. Thus the Popper-Hempel model would not be of much use to practicing historians, for whom, Berkhofer remarks, history writing is more than a problem of logic application.

It is evident that Berkhofer has his own ideas on the logic of historical explanation. In sum, a historian's aim is a "holistic" explanation of the past, in Berkhofer's phrase, an "eclecticism of additive explanation." This consists of the analysis and combination of four basic elements: general laws of behavior, social and cultural arrangements, statements of singular causation and specific statements of facts.[29] By this, Berkhofer means that historical explanation should be as much as possible in terms of general laws, to which are then added the given social and cultural arrangements, the sequence of events that we believe to be casually related with relevant data and so on. For example, to capture historical events involving social conflicts, we make use of a general conception of social conflicts, introduce the rival parties in conflict, the sequence of events leading to conflict-situations, etc. Berkhofer insists that his approach is not mere multi-causal analysis, that is, connecting the relevant factors in sequential order. Rather, what he has in mind is a "dynamic interrelationship of factors," relating and combining the four basic elements in such a way that they may be viewed as the logical pre-conditions — the necessary or sufficient conditions — of the phenomena which the historian is trying to synthesize.

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[26] Berkhofer, **op. cit.**, p. 280.

[27] D.C. North, **Growth and Welfare in the American Past: A New Economic History** (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hill, 1966).

[28] Berkhofer, **op. cit.**, p. 286.

[29] **Ibid.**, p. 293.

Functional-structural models

There are different models that could be fruitfully employed for objective explanation of social behavior of the past, but Berkhofer seems to think that what he calls the "functional-structural" model or approach, such as proposed by Talcott Parsons, may yield optimal results. He gives two illustrations of successful application of such an approach to historical phenomena.

His first example is a recent study on "internal wars" by Harry Eckstein.[30] Eckstein's pattern of explanation may be said to entail both the functional and structural aspects, namely, the "functional" elements that give rise to the particular situation to be analyzed and the "structure" of such a situation. The main feature of this particular approach is the distinction between precipitants and preconditions. Precipitants stand for immediate causes, but by preconditions Eckstein does not mean to identify particular, what historians call long-range causes. Rather, he means the situation as a whole, which he then conceives in terms of general hypotheses about the various factors of the situation, such as social, cultural, psychological, economic, etc. Thus historical explanation is based on a broad analysis of all major relevant factors or a set of behavioral determinants, which are then viewed as interrelated. It does not focus on specific causal relationships as traditional historical study has tended to do. The advantage of this type of explanation is that it allows the historian to make use of general (scientific) theories rather than speculations, particularly when he deals with specific behavioral determinants.

There are at least two other interesting points in Eckstein's model. One is that a historical situation should be analyzed from the perspective of the actor's view of the situation rather than from the observer's objective definition of the situation. After all, Eckstein argues, the situation is a production of the actor's definition and interpretation. Hence attribution of historical causes is only possible when we reconstruct our situation on the actor's own terms. Another point is the emphasis on a balanced historical argument. By this Eckstein means that objectivity in explanation demands that the historian tell us not only the story of the historically "winning" side, but rather both sides of the story. He must appreciate the strengths and weaknesses even of the opposing interests. Only in that way can he provide a dynamic form of explanation and, even more importantly, will he be able to predict why certain events were likely to happen, indeed "must" have happened.

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[30] Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," **History and Theory** (IV, 1965). For this argument, see Berkhofer, **op. cit.**, pp. 297-302.

The second illustration of the functional-structural model is Neil Smelser's **Theory of Collective Behavior.**[31] In this work Smelser, like Eckstein, tries to reduce his material to an objectively manageable set of determinants and makes generous use of familiar behavioral theories. His argument is primarily focused on the determinants that may be said to produce a particular kind of collective behavior, specifically, unorthodox social movements.[32] He contends that for particular historical episodes to occur such determinants must combine "according to a certain pattern" (i.e., they are not haphazard combinations), that they become increasingly specific, ruling out alternative behavior as a possibility, and finally that they are arranged in a specific sequence.[33] What Smelser has in mind, like Eckstein, is an explanation not in terms of a genetic sequence of happenings presented chronologically, with emphasis on one or more particular causative factors (what the traditional historians have been doing), but rather in terms of certain necessary and sufficient conditions for the occurrence of events described, which are then viewed as a combination of relevant behavioral factors, in Berkhofer's phrase, "a specific sequence of additive mixture."[34]

More specifically, Smelser first sets out to state the necessary conditions for the emergence of unorthodox social movements. This he does in terms of the most general social values, classifying these, after Parsons, into such social components as moral values, regulatory principles, mobilization for action and communication. Next he focuses his argument on the sufficient conditions for the emergence of such movements. Here he presents his argument in the form of a typology whose aim is to show how, in the sequence of events, the social components fit together in such a way as to produce particular social effects, in this case, unorthodox social movements. His typology of sequence comprises six distinct steps or "determinants" of the movements at issue. The "functional-structural" character of Smelser's typological scheme is suggested by the terms which he uses to classify such determinants, referring to them as structural conduciveness, structural strains, growth and spread of generalized belief, precipitating factors, mobilization of precipitants for action and the operation of social control. None of such determinants by itself is a cause of our phenomena; rather, for such phenomena to occur all determinants must somehow be present, although in different degrees and not necessarily in the chronological order of the above arrangement.

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[31] Neil J. Smelser, **Theory of Collective Behavior** (New York: Free Press, 1963).

[32] For this argument, see Berkhofer, **op. cit.**, pp. 302-311. Smelser's work is really a review of collective behavior of uninstitutionalized kind, such as fads, fashions, religious revivals, revolutionary movements, messianism and utopianism.

[33] See Smelser, **op cit.**, p. 14.

[34] Berkhofer, **op. cit.**, p. 303.

Berkhofer admits that Smelser's "eclectic model of explanation" is rather unwieldy ("a hideous hybrid") from the point of view of the logician, but, according to him, it is the only possible, and therefore sensible, model for the historian, "given his overall goal about time and the reconstruction of past reality."[35] Smelser's scheme appears capable of accommodating both the whole (via the Parsonian model of social action) and particularity (specific events), the general and the specific, the unique and the recurrent, with time being conceived in an analytic, not concrete sense (i.e., actual chronological ordering need not be present). For Berkhofer, this kind of conceptual approach is the most fitting for historical description and analysis.

The New History

Our exposition has revealed Berkhofer's argument as a potent criticism of "traditional" approaches to the writing of history as well as a positive statement mapping out the possible path for future historical research.

It is obvious that Berkhofer's argument will give little comfort to practitioners of the old-fashioned story-telling approach to history writing and that its acceptance would demand a major revision of certain practices in current historical research. Yet the "new look" at history which Berkhofer advances is perhaps less revolutionary than superficial reading of Berkhoferian behavioralism may conceivably suggest. It is, for instance, significant that Berkhofer's behavioral perspective has little to do with mechanistic Watsonian behavioralism and that his argument draws primarily on anthropological and sociological data, which have had traditionally much in common with the historical approach, rather than on the physical or logical disciplines, leaning in the direction of positivist science. Even more, Berkhofer does not try to debunk the idea of "uniqueness" in history in favor of some "covering law" of the Popperian kind, that might explain neatly — and simplify — historical phenomena. Rather, he appears to have succeeded to a great extent in rescuing history from the controversial view of uniqueness in the traditional sense. Too often, such a view implied that history was unmanageable on normal criteria of science, indeed, it frequently served as a convenient shield to protect the historian's reputation for a special access to knowledge, if not his infallibility.

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[35] Ibid., p. 311.

Berkhofer's concern for the unique is, it seems, his strength, for it allows him to preserve fairly the traditional autonomy of historical outlook, and so the distinct position of the historical discipline. Thus, by a skillful manipulation, within the context of historical study, of certain theories, based on recent, sophisticated scholarship in social science, Berkhofer might have convinced his readers that history writing can be a legitimate activity, provided that some of its traditional assumptions and methods are radically overhauled. He has also reduced the gap between history and other social disciplines, by making use in history of general social findings and by asserting that all social theories are subject to certain constraints. Indeed, Berkhofer's argument may be found illuminating and relevant perhaps in all social disciplines.

Berkhofer's program for future historical research — what Berkhofer calls "New History" — is expressed by him under four principal methodological demands. The first is the demand for a new attitude towards historical data. The historian should be prepared to make use of new techniques of quantification and statistical methods whenever possible. As Berkhofer has perceptively added, what is important here is not quantifiability as such but the attitude toward such a possibility. The second, which is even more substantial, is the demand for the proper framing of questions and hypotheses in historical study. Carefully thought-out problems should lead to greater clarity and so to better testability. They should allow us to pursue a more rigorous historical analysis. The third demand emphasizes the need for sound theoretic conceptions. It is inevitable that the historian follow some general framework if his work is to be more than chronicle writing. Granted, he can never satisfy the rigorous criteria of scientific explanation which the Popperian model requires, still he can do much to achieve greater clarity in his explanation than he could, or did, in the past. At any rate, here he can learn much from other social disciplines, making use of recent successful developments in them. Finally, there is the demand for a more self-conscious approach to methodology in historical research. Greater command of logic, of rules of verification, types of explanation and the like, should become an important part of the historian's methodologic equipment and outlook. This should enable the historian to look more critically at social theories that are at his disposal, and so be more discriminating in using such theories.

Yet Berkhofer apparently expects that more than an enhanced sense of precision or truth to observable facts will be the result of the new historical analysis. His argument appears to lead to an extension of historical experience as such, to a new perspective in our historical study of man. Berkhofer demands that truth to reality must somehow be reproduced in all the complexity which modern behavior manifests. It is not by accident that he invokes Picasso for illustration of his ideas, for Picasso is renowned for his attempt to bring to our consciousness the peculiar relationship between the identity of objects and the multi-perspectival experience that such identity involves, and so to capture reality in all its variety of aspects. Berkhofer tries to do for the historical arts what Picasso has done for the visual arts.

In sum, the aim of Berkhofer's methodological inquiry in history — of his prescription for historical analysis — is maximal precision and objectivity in research and to capture historical reality "from the perspective of the complicated consciousness" that characterizes both today's man and contemporary science. Berkhofer's peculiar contribution here may be said to consist in his reorientation of our historical vision: the necessary unity of perception in historical study is to be effected not by turning back to the explanatory models of the past, but by developing new models appropriate to our own times, rooted in contemporary theories of social science. Berkhofer suggests that, if we perceive our historical experience in these terms, we shall render more justice to it as well as make our study of the past more objective, more reliable, when measured by normal criteria of social science, thus enhancing the scientific standing of our discipline.

DOCUMENTS

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION FOR 1974

I have the honor to submit a report on the activities and accomplishments of the Board of Governors of the Philippine Historical Association for the year 1974.

The impact of the proclamation of martial law in 1972, which was carried through 1973, subsided in 1974. During the year there was a decline, even a disappearance, of tensions generated by the general state of affairs.

In the national scene the country continued to be haunted by the spectre of the oil crisis and the bogey of inflation abroad, both of which had repercussions that affected not only the process of planning programs and projects but also their implementation.

As with the nation, so with the PHA. However, the PHA managed to undertake a creditable performance which you and every member of the association can be proud of. Before going into a presentation of this performance, permit me to put you first in proper perspective.

COMPOSITION OF THE BOARD

You will recall that on January 27, 1974, the members of the PHA met in general assembly in this very hall to elect the incoming Board of Governors. The following were elected:

PROF. CELEDONIO A. ANCHETA, Philippine Christian College
DR. RICARDO A. ARCILLA, Bicol University
PROF. DIOSDADO G. CAPINO, Arellano University
PROF. ARNALDO S. FALLARME, Roxas City
PROF. MARCELINO A. FORONDA, De La Salle University
PROF. MAURO GARCIA, Vargas Foundation Library & Museum
PROF. MA. MINERVA A. GONZALEZ, University of Santo Tomas
PROF. CELEDONIO O. RESURRECCION, Far Eastern University
DEAN BONIFACIO S. SALAMANCA, University of the Philippines
DEAN GLORIA M. SANTOS, St. Mary's College
PROF. LOURDES Y. SANTOS, University of the East

The governors-elect met immediately to elect their officers and the following came out:

President :	Prof. Celedonio O. Resurreccion
Vice-President:	Dean Bonifacio S. Salamanca
Secretary :	Prof. Ma. Minerva A. Gonzalez
Treasurer :	Prof. Lourdes Y. Santos
Auditor :	Prof. Diosdado G. Capino
P.R.O. :	Dr. Marcelino A. Foronda

President Emeritus Gabriel F. Fabella inducted the officers and members of the Board of Governors into office.

You must have noticed the composition of the outgoing board of governors for the year 1974. It is the most representative group of PHA governors ever to be elected. No two governors come from the same institution. I congratulate you, I commend you, for your wisdom in exercising your right of suffrage by effecting a most egalitarian distribution of membership among different institutions. This is as it should be if the PHA is to remain a democratic instrument of our institutional order.

ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEES

With the consent of the Board, the president proceeded to appoint the following chairmen of working committees:

1. Program Committee
   Chairman: Dean Bonifacio S. Salamanca
   Program Director: Executive Secretary Jorge L. Revilla
2. Finance Committee
   Chairman: Prof. Lourdes Y. Santos
3. Membership Committee
   Chairman: Prof. Ma. Minerva A. Gonzalez
4. Committee on Revision of Constitution and By-Laws
   Chairman: Prof. Celedonio A. Ancheta
5. Committee on Publications
   Chairman: Prof. Mauro Garcia
6. Speakers' Bureau Committee
   Chairman: Prof. Diosdado G. Capino
7. Committee on Research
   Chairman: Dr. Marcelino A. Foronda

8. Committee on Curriculum and Education
   Chairman: Prof. Diosdado G. Capino
   Co-Chairman: Dean Gloria M. Santos
9. Committee on Awards
   Chairman: President Emeritus Gabriel F. Fabella
   Co-Chairman: Prof. Celedonio A. Ancheta
   (Note: For good reasons accepted unanimously by the Board, these gentlemen resigned shortly after, in favor of the President of the PHA.)
10. Committee on Public Relations
    Chairman: Dr. Marcelino A. Foronda
11. Committee on Socials
    Chairman: Dean Gloria M. Santos

The various committee chairmen were authorized to designate the members of their respective committees.

OTHER APPOINTMENTS

Governor Mauro Garcia was unanimously chosen as editor-in-chief of the **Historical Bulletin.**

Prof. Jorge L. Revilla, Executive Secretary, was redesignated as Executive Director in order to avoid confusion between his position of Executive Secretary and that of Secretary of the Board of Governors.

ACTIVITIES

During the year 1974 the following were the activities of the members of the Board of Governors:

1. **Binañgonan Parish School Convocation.** On Friday, February 15, President Celedonio O. Resurreccion, Governor Diosdado G. Capino, and Executive Director Jorge L. Revilla were the speakers at a convocation held at the Binañgonan Parish School. They spoke on the following topics:

"Career Opportunities and the New Constitution"
by: Executive Director Jorge G. Revilla

"Provisions on Education in the New Constitution"
by: Governor Diosdado G. Capino

"Comparative Economic Systems and the Economic Provisions of the New Constitution"
by: President Celedonio O. Resurreccion.

2. **Cagayan Valley History Seminar.** On March 2 and 3, Executive Director Revilla and your President were speakers at a Cagayan Valley history seminar sponsored by St. Louis College in Tuguegarao, Cagayan. Their topics were:

"RP-US Relations" by Director Revilla

"The Relevance of Rizal to the New Society"
by President Resurreccion

3. **Regional Seminar Dapitan City.** On June 16, 17, 18, 19, the PHA held a regional seminar in Dapitan City, with the full cooperation of the National Historical Commission under Chairman Esteban A. de Ocampo and the District Superintendent of Schools as well as the nice people of Dapitan City.

The theme was: **THE LEGACY OF RIZAL.** The topics and the speakers were:

"Rizal and the Filipino Woman" by Dean Gloria M. Santos
"Rizal the Community Worker" by Horacio Cabilin
"Rizal the Reformer" by Prof. Esteban A. de Ocampo
"Rizal the Nationalist" by Dean Bonifacio S. Salamanca
"Rizal the Scientist" by President C. O. Resurreccion
"Rizal the Educator" by Div. Supt. Felipe Mojares
"Rizal the Moral Leader" by Prof. Diosdado G. Capino

4. **Regional Seminar in Laoag City.** The second regional seminar, undertaken as part of the national celebration of History Week (September 16-22, 1974), was held in Laoag City, with Northern Christian College as host. The theme of the seminar was: "THE REVOLUTIONS OF OUR TIME." The Honorable Madame Governor Elizabeth Marcos Keon delivered the Keynote Address. The speakers and their topics were:

1. Rev. Juan F. Santos: "Moral and Spiritual Revolution"
2. Supt. Severino Caridad: "Revolutionary Changes in Education"
3. Prof. Celedonio O. Resurreccion: "Syndromes of an Economic Revolution in the New Society"
4. Undersecretary of Local Government Hon. Rosendo R. Marquez: "Revolutionary Changes in our Social Services"
5. Atty. Pedro S. de Guzman: "Agrarian Revolution"
6. Prof. Diosdado G. Capino: "Revolutionary Trends in the New Society"
7. Col. Benjamin R. Vallejo, PA: "Political Revolution"

5. **Annual Seminar in Manila.** The traditional annual seminar was held as usual in commemoration of Bonifacio Day, on November 30 and December 1, in San Beda College, Manila:

Theme: THE CONTINUING REVOLUTION OF THE NEW SOCIETY

Topics and Speakers:

Keynote Address: Professor Esteban A. de Ocampo,
Chairman, National Historical Commission

"The Agrarian Revolution of the New Society"
Jose Medina, Assistant Secretary, Department
of Agrarian Reform

"The Economic Revolution of the New Society"
Dr. Wilfredo G. Nuqui, Assistant Director
Economic Panning and Research Staff, NEDA

"The Moral and Spiritual Revolutions of Our Time"
Dr. Cresencio Peralta, President
National Teachers College

"The Political Revolution of Our Time"
Professor Primo Tongko, Vice-President
Araneta University

"Our Revolution for National Unity"
Dr. Ernesto A. Constantino
Holder of the Professorial Chair in Linguistics
University of the Philippines
Member, Institute of National Language

INVITATIONAL PARTICIPATION

The PHA Board of Governors or its members were invited to participate in several functions held within the year under review. Among them were the following:

1. **Regional Seminar on History in Cabanatuan City,** sponsored jointly by the National Historical Commission, the Philippine Wesleyan College and the Local Government of Cabanatuan City and held on March 1 and 2 at Philippine Wesleyan College. The theme of the seminar was: ENRICHMENT OF FILIPINO CULTURE. Your PHA president delivered a paper on "Our Progress In Constitution-Making: The Enrichment Of a Political Institution."

2. **Regional Seminar on History in Tacloban City,** sponsored by the National Historical Commission, the Divine Word University of Tacloban, and the Local Government of Tacloban City, which was held on June 27 and 28, 1974. The topic was: "HISTORY CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORY TEACHING." Again, through the generosity of the Chairman of the National Historical Commission, Professor Esteban A. de Ocampo, your PHA president participated as one of the lecturers. He was assigned the topic "History Consciousness and Philippine Identity."

3. **MABINI Seminars in Batangas Province.** In commemoration of the 110th birth anniversary of Apolinario Mabini, the National Historical Commission, the dynamic Governor Antonio Leviste of Batangas, and the Local Governments of Nasugbu, Batangas City, and Lipa City, jointly held a series of seminars on the life and works of Apolinario Mabini. Your PHA President attended all the seminars and spoke at the first which was held in Nasugbu, Batangas. His paper was: "MABINI: HIS FORMATIVE YEARS."

4. On the invitation of the National Historical Commission, your PHA President delivered the closing remarks at the last session of a two-day seminar celebrating History Week on November 17, 1974.

5. He attended the NHC-sponsored symposium on Rafael Palma on December 20, 1974.

6. He was Master of Ceremonies at the Annual Rizal Day Program held in Fort Santiago on December 30th, 1974.

7. As president of PHA, he was invited to contribute and, in fact, contributed two articles to FILIPINO HERITAGE and was invited to attend the FILIPINO HERITAGE EDUCATORS' PREVIEW held on Wednesday, November 27, 1974, at the Cultural Center of the Philippines.

8. He was Bonifacio Day convocation speaker at the De Ocampo Memorial College on November 29, 1974. His topic was "FILIPINO NATIONALISM."

9. As PHA president he was invited to and, in fact, attended two public lectures of Dr. Daniel Boorstin, a world-renowned American historian — held on the grounds of the American Embassy on December 17 and the other at the Epifanio de los Santos Auditorium, National Library, on December 18.

10. On December 30, Governor Diosdado Capino was the Rizal Lecturer in Calamba, Laguna.

PERSONALIA

1. **Modern Philippine History Research Program.** It may interest you to know that three members of the Philippine Historical Association are members of the committee on Modern Philippine History Research Program, an entity under the Philippine Social Science Council. They are Prof. Julita Sta. Romana, former Vice-President of PHA; Prof. Marcelino Foronda, former officer of the PHA board; and your humble servant. The MPHRP passes upon applications for research grants on the writing of modern Philippine History.

2. **Between Two Wars by Ma. Fe. H. Romero.** You will be pleased to know that since the inauguration of the MPHRP in 1973, the first and the only one so far as of today who has completed and published a research project comes from the Philippine Historical Association. Her name is Ma. Fe Hernaiz Romero. She was at one time, you will recall, a commentator on a paper read at one of the seminars of the PHA — the one held at the Holy Spirit College. At the time she wrote her book **Between Two Wars**, which is a history of Negros that was favorably commented upon by United States Ambassador William Sullivan on the occasion of the Daniel Boorstin lecture, Mrs. Romero was a member of the faculty of the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Far Eastern University. She is now in Guam where her husband works.

3. Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo, member of the National Historical Commission, former governor and now consultant of the PHA, came out with a book on Philippine Nationalism. There might be others who had their works published of which the PHA Board of Governors has not been given information.

4. I would want to add that PHA Executive Director Jorge L. Revilla was the "brains" behind the organization of the PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PHILIPPINES, of which he is executive secretary.

5. Prof. Celedonio A. Ancheta received an appointment from the Republic of China Fellowship Academy.

6. Perhaps, you will permit me indulgently to mention the fact that at the XIIth national convention of the PHILIPPINE ASSOCIATION FOR GRADUATE EDUCATION (P.A.G.E.) held in Legazpi City on January 29, 1974, your PHA President was re-elected for another two-year term to the PAGE Board of Directors and that he was elected as its executive secretary. The PAGE is an association

of graduate schools and educators concerned with or interested in graduate education.

These are all the personalia (information) that we can give you for the present.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF PHA

The PHA was conceived and born in 1955. Your board decided to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of its existence in 1975, by holding a round-year program of activities. Your Board of Governors felt that it should not wait until the 25th anniversary because age is fast overtaking many of the founders of the Association and we want them to enjoy the ultimate satisfaction that their labors and contributions to the history profession are appreciated and recognized.

For this reason, the PHA held a Recognition Day Ceremony last Saturday, January 18th to confer a plaque of recognition with highest-distinction on each awardees. The recipients of awards were:

PROF. ENCARNACION ALZONA
PROF. GABRIEL F. FABELLA
PROF. ESTEBAN A. DE OCAMPO
PROF. MAURO GARCIA
DEAN GLORIA M. SANTOS
PROF. CELEDONIO A. ANCHETA
PROF. CARLOS QUIRINO
DR. GREGORIO F. ZAIDE
PROF. NICOLAS ZAFRA
PROF. TEODORO A. AGONCILLO
FR. HORACIO DE LA COSTA, S.J.
DR. SIXTO M. OROSA
DON DIGNO ALBA (Posthumus)

The PHA plans to hold more activities in connection with the 20th anniversary celebration. The details of the matter are left, however, to the incoming board.

PUBLICATIONS

Editor-in-Chief Mauro Garcia succeeded in updating the publication of the HISTORICAL BULLETIN by putting out all the numbers 1 to 4 of 1973 in one issue. All the seminar papers in 1974 will perhaps be issued again as one in order to eliminate entirely the backlog. I take occasion to congratulate and commend Prof. Mauro Garcia for his productive efforts.

FINANCES OF THE ASSOCIATION

The finances of the Association are in tip-top shape. The PHA seminars were self-supporting and there were even surpluses of income-receipts from seminars that went into the PHA treasury. In view of the high cost of printing, your board decided to request for a bigger government subsidy. Preliminary overtures with the authorities have been made. The emissaries gave optimistic reports in this regard.

AN UNFINISHED SYMPHONY

You will recall that it was the Philippine Historical Association that decided for the Department of Foreign Affairs as to who was the first secretary of foreign affairs—Apolinario Mabini. The arguments were cogently framed by Prof. Nicolas Zafra with the assistance of the governors.

You will likewise recall that it was the Philippine Historical Association that spearheaded the movement to change Independence Day from July 4 to June 12 and prosecuted it to the finish. In this movement, Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella provided the idea and the initial fire, while Prof. Esteban A. de Ocampo contributed his leadership and dynamism.

You will further recall that it was the Philippine Historical Association that criticized the retention of unholy Spanish names of many of the streets in Manila, and that these criticisms generated a wave of Filipinization of street names and plazas.

But there is one project that has been pending in the book. The PHILCONSA, making use of materials from the **Historical Bulletin,** was able to put into the text of the present Constitution of the Philippines a provision authorizing the **ad interim** National Assembly to change the name of the Philippines without the necessity of an amendment constitution.

Since the powers and functions of the National Assembly have been taken over by the President of the Republic by virtue of Proclamation No. 1081 and General Orders No. 1, that power to change the name of the Philippines is now in the hands of President Ferdinand E. Marcos. If he does not exercise that power, it is most probably because there is no reminder to him or no backing from historical groups. I should like to present the matter for your consideration. And I should like to appeal to each and everyone of you to write to the president. Remember, we are trying to seek our national and cultural identity. National identity is political in nature; it is established by adoption of a fitting national name.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Upon the conclusion of this presidential report, I consider my second term as president of the Philippine Historical Association officially terminated. I shall have served the full limit allowable under our Constitution and By-Laws.

I should like to thank all the members of the Association for voting me into office both in the first and in the second terms. The records speak eloquently that I have not failed them in reposing their trust in me.

I express appreciation to all my colleagues in the Board for their magnanimous understanding of my human failings and for their wonderful cooperation in pushing through programs designed to project the good image of the Association. We had clashes of opinion and clashes of personalities, but this is natural in any group of educated men and women. I accepted my defeats in good grace, bowing to the better judgment of the majority. That is why I can leave, and I am leaving, the Board of Governors without bitterness and rancour. I shared my personal success with all my colleagues and with the Association, and you have my assurance that my frustrations and disappointments were mine and mine alone.

This expression of gratitude, this acknowledgement of favors, would not be complete without mentioning the Chairman of the National Historical Commission, Professor Esteban A. de Ocampo, who in many ways that one could think of, not unwittingly helped in projecting a good image of the PHA. I make public my profound gratitude to him, to the members of the Commission, and to his staff for bearing with me.

If there is anyone whom I have left out, it is not because it was intentional, but because the human memory of an aging man has become an unreliable instrument of historical reference.

It was such a pleasure to have served. Thank you, and God bless you all.

(SGD.) CELEDONIO O. RESURRECCION
President

LOGBOOK OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

P. O. Box No. 3797, Manila

EXCERPTS FROM THE 1974 LOG BOOK OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PROFESSOR JORGE L. REVILLA

January 15-18, 1974 — PHA President Prof. Celedonio O. Resurreccion, NHC Chairman Prof. Esteban A. de Ocampo accompanied Pastor and Mrs. Gottlieb Weber to Dapitan City via Cebu and Dipolog.

22 — Dinner with NHC Chairman Esteban A. de Ocampo in honor of Pastor and Mrs. G. Weber.

24 — Despedida dinner for Pastor and Mrs. G. Weber at the Peony Restaurant, Padre Faura.

27 — PHA Annual General Assembly and Election at the Mezzanine, Taipei House Restaurant.

Feb. 3 — Lunch with PHA Vice-President Bonifacio Salamanca and Prof. Diosdado Capino re-PHA program of activities.

30 — Annual Election of the Philosophical Association of the Philippines.

29th Anniversary of the Liberation of Manila.

15 — Seminar at Binangonan Catholic High School. Professors Resurreccion, Capino and Revilla lectured on the New Constitution.

16 — Seminar at Centro Escolar University about Educational Reforms.

18 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting

March 1 — Despedida luncheon for Moises Lardizabal, resigned from PHA — will go to London.

2-3 — To Tuguegarao with Prof. Resurreccion, Seminar on History, St. Louis College.
Moises Lardizabal took KLM for London. Loan of ₱5,000.00.

4 — Lunch with Prof. Resurreccion re assessment of Seminar on History in Tuguegarao.

10 — To Cebu re briefing on Seminar on Community Service.

21 — Despedida Luncheon for Col. Jimbo and Mrs. Murai, off to Japan.

23 — Prof. Revilla was the Commencement Speaker at the East Central College, San Fernando, Pampanga.

To Baguio City at 5:00 p.m. re Seminar preparations.

26 — Luncheon Meeting with Bataan Veterans Association. Re Bataan Day celebration on April 9th.

27 — ₱20,000.00 subsidy for PHA — released by DEC.

31 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting.

April 3 — Luncheon meeting to finalize Bataan Day Celebration at DND.

April 7 — Annual Convention of USAFFE Bataan Veterans, Fort Bonifacio.

9 — Pilgrimage to Bataan. President Ferdinand Marcos was the main speaker. 16,000 people attended.

1-20 — Prof. Revilla took charge of the Regional Seminar on Community Service and Reforestation, Tacloban City.

22-27 — Prof. Revilla took charge of the Regional Seminar on Community Service and Reforestation in Zamboanga City.

29-May 4 — Prof. Revilla took charge of the Regional Seminar on Community Service and Reforestation Cabanatuan-Pantabangan, Nueva Ecija.

May 6-11 — Prof. Revilla — Regional Seminar — Davao City

13-18 — Prof. Revilla — Regional Seminar — Cebu City

20-25 — Prof. Revilla — Regional Seminar — Baguio-Ambuklao

26 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting

28-31 — 3 - day Seminar; Philosophical Association of the Philippines, Baguio City.

June 3 — School Year Opens

16-19 — Seminar on Rizal. PHA President Resurreccion, NHC Chairman Esteban A. de Ocampo, Professors Capino, Gonzalez, Salamanca, Santos took off via PAL to Dapitan via Cebu and Dipolog.

20 — Press Conference — Prof. Revilla on Reforestation contest, July 1, 1974, to June 30, 1975.

22-23 — Prof. Revilla took off via PAL for Davao to General Santos City Seminar.

24 — No Classes. Araw ng Maynila

28 — Luncheon with Vice-President Enverga of Luzonian University re PHA Chapter formation.

29 — To Bayambang, Pangasinan re Seminar.

July 1 — Tree planting ceremony, La Mesa Dam First National Reforestation Contest.

3 — Luncheon at Sulu Makati re-overall strategy on Reforestation Contest.

6-7 — Prof. Revilla to Bacolod City — Seminar on Community Service.

	10	— Luncheon, awarding ceremonies of lectures, Philosophical Association.
	14	— PHA Board of Governors Meeting
		Longest parade on Philippine History in honor of Miss Universe Candidates. Decorations; From 3:30 p.m. to 7:45 p.m.
	20-21	— To Vigan, Ilocos Sur. Seminar on Community Service.
	27-28	— Off via PAL to Dumaguete City via Cebu, Seminar on Community Service.
August	3-4	— Off via PAL Cagayan de Oro City. Seminar on Community Service.
	10-11	— To Lucena City, Seminar on Community Service.
	15-18	— Heavy rain. Central Luzon Flooded. No classes one week.
	19	— PHA Board of Governors Meeting
	24-26	— Off via PAL to Cauayan, Isabela Seminar on Community Service.
	27	— PHA Bulletin Editor Mr. Garcia lunch with Prof. Revilla re publications.
	31-Sept. 1	— Off to Legaspi City, Seminar on Community Service.
Sept.	7-8	— Off via PAL to Iloilo City. Seminar on Community Service.
	9	— Convocation Speaker at Osmeña High School, Tondo.
	11	— Tree Planting at Mt. Samat. Birthday of President Ferdinand Marcos.
	16	— PHA Board of Governors Meeting
	14-15	— Off via PAL to Naga City. Seminar on Community Service.
	20	— First Lady Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos trip to Red China.

21-22 — Regional Seminar on History—PHA Pres. C. Resurreccion, Profs. Capino, Gonzalez, Pineda, participated; 130 delegates participated (Northern Luzon).

26 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting

28-29 — To Tarlac, Tarlac. Seminar on Community Service.

October 8 — To Malacañang re letter inviting President Marcos as Keynote Speaker.

11 — To Mt. Samat via San Fernando and Balanga, Bataan.

12-13 — To Tagbilaran via Cebu, Seminar on Community Service in Bilan near Chocolate Hills, Bohol.

15-16 — To Mindanao State University, Marawi City via Cebu and Iligan. Two day seminar on Community Service.

18-19 — To Dipolog City via Cebu. Seminar on Community Service.

Lecture on Rizal at Dapitan Shrine.

To Davao City via Apo Resort. Seminar on Community Service.

21 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting

Nov. 23 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting. Dr. Marcelino Foronda resigns as Governor of PHA.

30-Dec. 1 — Annual Seminar on History, San Beda College. Theme: The Continuing Revolution of the New Society. Attendance 309 delegates

Dec. 16 — PHA Board of Governors Meeting

Dec. 26-31 — Prof. Revilla took charge of the Seminar on Youth Community Service. Theme: A New Social Order for National Survival.

JORGE L. REVILLA
Executive Director

THE FORD REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES: EXHIBITS

[Editors' Note: The Historical Bulletin for 1973 contains the main portions of the "Ford Report" but due to lack of space, the exhibits or appendices were not included. These are now being published in this volume for the benefit of scholars interested in the American Period. Forming part of Record Group 350 of the U.S. National Archives, the "Ford Report" (File No. 364, Enclosures 295 and 296) was prepared by Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University, who was sent to the Philippines by President Woodrow Wilson in 1913. The "Report" was submitted either to President Wilson or his Secretary of War in September, 1913; it was filed with the Records of the former Bureau of Insular Affairs on March 6, 1915. In 1973, through the kindness of Mrs. Jane L. Downey, his former student at the U.P. Extension at Clark Air Base, Dean Bonifacio S. Salamanca acquired an electrostatic copy of the "Report."]

[EXHIBIT A]

(Translation)

"EL IDEAL," Tuesday, April 15, 1913.

A JAPANESE PROFESSOR AMONG US.
INTERESTING MANIFESTATION.

Yesterday we had the honor of receiving a visit from the distinguished Japanese professor, Mr. Masao Matsuoka, M.A., lecturer at the Kagos School of Agriculture, and now in the service of the colonial government of Formosa, in the interests of which he is making a trip through colonies in the Orient, studying colonial institutions in order to present a detailed report to his government and write a book on the countries visited.

Professor Matsuoka, who speaks English perfectly, has already been in Java, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, the Straits Colonies, Saigon, the colonies of south China and Hongkong, whence he came, reaching this capital only a couple of days ago.

He will stay here less than a week.

When asked by us about his first impressions of the country, he stated that the first thing that attracted his attention was the great physiognomic resemblance of many Filipinos to Japanese. The first night after his arrival he saw two Filipino gentlemen in the Metropole who appeared to him to be Japanese and he began a conversation with them in Japanese, to his great disappointment.

Professor Matsuoka informed us that the resemblance of the Filipino to the Japanese is the more surprising since he had not noted anything similar in any other Malayan country visited by him.

The first impression that Manila gives is that of a city in transformation. Ancient buildings form a notable contrast with modern constructions in the American style, and one sees the desire to make Manila an American city

We asked him what the Japanese people think about the political ideals of the Filipinos and he replied that they have the liveliest sympathy for them. "If your independence depended on Japan, you would have it in a moment," he said to us.

We wish the distinguished pedagogue a very pleasant stay in this capital.

(Translation)

"RENACIMIENTO FILIPINO," Monday, April 21, 1913.

PROVINCIAL CHRONICLES.

THE JAPANESE IN CEBU. — FILIPINOS AND THE SONS OF MUTSUHITO.

Professor Matsuoka has stated that if the independence of the Philippines depended on the will of Japan, the Philippines would already be independent and autonomous at this time.

Both the Chinese and Filipinos, as well as the Japanese, must comprehend the necessity of allying themselves in order to defend their common interests in the Orient against any attempt on the part of the Machiavellian Europeans and the enterprising and daring Americans to despoil them of their interests.

x x x

The similarities and analogies which exist between the two races, the yellow and the Malay, the proximity and nearness of their lands, which puts them in continual contact, must make them comprehend that they ought to unite and form an alliance for mutual support and defense against any attack which might come from any foreigner who might seek to trample on their common rights and privileges as Orientals.

x x x

Undoubtedly, if an effort were made at this moment to effect the coalition of the peoples of both races, it could not be accomplished, because, unfortunately, all the people of the Malay race are subjected to foreign yokes; but when the moment comes when the dawn of liberty and independence shines for all the islands inhabited by Malays, that moment Pan-Asianism will cease to be a mere dream or a mere illusion. It will be a legitimate hope which would soon be realized.

However, it would not be bad for us to go ahead of facts. Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos should endeavor to direct their acts toward that magnificent coalition; relations of friendship should now be established among the three peoples, so that when the star-spangled banner is hauled down in the Magellan Islands, there will be no need to have to awaken sentiments of friendship among them, for those sentiments are the most essential elements for the signing of the desired pact of alliance between the Chinese, Japanese and Filipino people.

x x x

We should bear in mind the very significant detail that all of those who gave the very splendid reception to the Nipponese were exclusively Filipinos, so that all the attentions and receptions of which they were the object, bore the native, national seal, without the adulterations and hybridisms of foreign elements who do nothing but stain the purest and most legitimate sentiments.

In the diverse relations which the people of Cebu had with the Japanese during the visit, the representatives of both peoples had opportunities to become acquainted and to appreciate the good qualities which adorn each, and to see the defects which disfigure both.

Japanese and Filipinos must have cherished flattering hopes of the mutual relations which both peoples might form in the near future when the Philippines, free from the foreign yoke, shall have the free management of its own affairs and interests and can express its autonomous national will and form bonds of friendship and alliances with other free independent peoples.

We should understand the visit to Cebu as a step toward Pan-Asianism, for that is what it does and should signify.

(Translation)

"EL COMERCIO," Friday, May 23, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

CHINA AND JAPAN, ALLIES.
THE GIANT AWAKES.

(From "El Imparcial")

Madrid, April 24th.

x x x

Japan obligates herself by that treaty to guarantee the territory and integrity of China and the latter promises to prevent, in case of a conflict between Japan and any other country, the conquest of south Manchuria, Korea and, in brief, all the territories which the empire obtained in the war with Russia. Thus the Japanese are left with their hands free to venture on enterprises which they crave, without fear that the Muscovite bear will sink its claws into their backs. And China is safeguarded from the Slav giant.

x x x

The disquiet which that pact occasions in Russia and the anxiety with which America awaits debates in the Chinese and Japanese parliaments are thus explained. China is getting ready to close the way to Russia in Mongolia. Japan longs to make herself mistress of the Philippines and even casts her eyes on the coasts of San Francisco. The yellow republic has four [hundred?] million inhabitants. The empire of the Levant possesses fifty. Besides those colossal multitudes, what are the 156,000,000 Russians and the 83,000,000 Americans?

x x x

(Translation)

"LA VANGUARDIA," Friday, May 23, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

IN CASE WAR BREAKS OUT.
THE NATIONAL MALAY PARTY.

(News Article)

Discussing editorially the rumors of approaching war between the United States and Japan, the "Philippine Republic" of Hongkong expresses itself thus:

The "Philippine Republic" is of the opinion that some days before war breaks out the delegates to the Assembly should be called immediately to Manila and the Philippine republic should be solemnly proclaimed. **Providence will take care of the rest.**

"We should aid neither America nor Japan. Let us work **pro domo nostra** and nothing of alliances and pacts which are not fulfilled.

"America has not yet paid us her account for '98, and Japan, God knows what Japan thinks!

No. 38 of the radical bi-monthly contains a letter from Mr. Douwes Dekker, president of the National Malay Party and editor of the "Express" of Java, who says that that political aggroupment sympathizes with the independence of the Philippines.

(Translation)

"LIBERTAS," Monday, May 26, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

LOOK OUT FOR YOURSELF.

(Editorial)

No country on earth is more interested in what may happen between Japan and the U. S. than the Philippine Islands. They are, perhaps, destined to be the theater of war and what is still worse, the final compensation to be given one of the parties in case it is victorious.

Because of us the threads of Japanese-American politics have become tangled. It is not so much California as the nearby Philippines which impassions the minds of the Japanese. America feels strong in California and Japan feels omnipotent in Formosa as regards the Philippines.

x x x

From its home port a Japanese squadron can sail into our Santo Domingo de Basco in less time than the train from Manila to Dagupan. Laoag and Aparri are almost as near Taiyuan as Cavite. Our northern frontier would be exceedingly exposed if war should break out between the U. S. and Japan.

x x x

We are naturally a continuation of the chain which begins in the Kurile Islands and ends in the Sonda and Malacca Straits. The map clearly foretells our destiny: let Filipinos meditate on it as it only interests them. If they truly want independence they should begin to feel the natural and geographical inclination of their islands. Centuries ago China and Japan sailed to meet us, looking for conquest. Centuries ago the Moros of the south, excited by the Dutch, came up with the same purpose.

x x x

It seems to us that it is worth while for the Filipinos to think seriously of these problems which involve their Islands still more than Hawaii and California. So much thinking about Cardinal Gibbons and the pilgrimage to Antipolo and other matters of little merit might withdraw national thought and effort from other problems of vital interest.

We do not believe that questions are to be attacked with the audacious vigor, the dogmatic decision, used by a certain newspaper, the "Philippine Republic," of Hongkong; but it does seem necessary to lay aside grudges and trifles to engage exclusively in the study of the formidable problems which are coming up, urgently asking for proper solution. At any rate, it seems that everybody should desist from mentioning anything which might alienate the minds of many residents who consider that their fate is joined to that of the Filipinos. Subtraction and addition are operations prohibited in the calculations of Filipino politicians.

(Translation)

"LA DEMOCRACIA," Tuesday, May 27, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

PERILOUS PERSISTENCE.

(Editorial)

It is not true that we have advised the people to adopt a perfectly neutral attitude in case war breaks out between the United States and Japan.

We have not formulated any advise. We have confined ourselves to recording a fact after feeling the pulse of public sentiment. The fact recorded is that this people, deeply disgustd with the present sovereigns of the Islands because of their manifest tendencies to hypothecate the future of the Islands and to defraud us of our desired redemption, does not feel the least desire to mix in the strife by fighting on the side of the Americans, but prefers, if possible, that the conflict be limited to Japanese and Americans. All that we did after recording this fact was to say that it is justified to a certain degree, since the people have lost confidence in foreign redeemers.

x x x

We comprehend perfectly well why "El Ideal" declares that it is the duty of our people to take the side of the American government, inasmuch as such a declaration is necessary, under present critical circumstances, to give an honest appearance to its capacity as the organ of a party which controls the lower House and cooperates with the American administration.

x x x

Since the Americans do not solicit the assistance of the Filipinos in adjusting their conflict with Japan, either because of considering any forced cooperation as useless and injurious, or because the American authorities have decided to abandon the Philippines, whose definite fate they hope to determine upon signing the Treaty of Peace, let us not be more papists than the Pope, as is commonly said, and let us endeavor to get all possible advantage from this liberty in which they leave us in order not to draw on ourselves the hostility of any belligerent.

The effort to have us take the side of the Americans might have disastrous consequences for the country, which will be the object of cruel reprisals if the Mikado triumphs, wherefore, so long as the insular government does not compel the country to take arms in the present conflict, we see no necessity for making ourselves disliked by any belligerent.

Americans—it must be recognized—are proceeding in this question with admirable common-sense. They know that for very many causes and reasons they do not have the sympathy of the Islanders and, schooled by what occurred to the Spanish government, they prefer not to do violence to the reality of things by getting allies who are allies in name only.

(Translation)

"LIBERTAS," Tuesday, June 10, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

FROM THE LOOKOUT.
(Editorial)

x x x

Really, the Japanese play the greatest and most important part in eastern Asia. In the Philippines they are spoken of as powerful dominators of the whole coast of Asia and as the possible owners of other regions which are waiting hereabout for what may happen any day.

x x x

The sailors of the "Yodo" are skirting an Archipelago which they already know and which they wish to know still better. Our waters begin where theirs end and no one is able to predict whether the line of their jurisdictional water will ever advance. The Philippine Archipelago extended in past times farther than Formosa; we do not know whether the Japanese Archipelago will descend in coming times to this side of the Babuyanes.

They are seeing our ports and go into our towns on friendly excursions with our authorities and fellow-citizens. One would say that the Japanese is disinclined to see in our coasts the barriers of of a foreign land and that it is only by favor that he can permit the name of guest to be applied to himself.

We are so accustomed to ideas of force that we cannot believe that the unbeaten Japanese of such great land and sea power are travelling here like ordinary tourists or cadets of another nation. Either the Philippines is their promised land or the Japanese are too generous for current times.

x x x

Some months before the Filipino revolution of 1896 five thousand prominent Filipino sent a mesagge to Japan requesting the annexation of the Philippines to the Empire. The Mikado was so noble, loyal and sincere that instead of selfishly heeding the petition, he forwarded a literal copy of the contents and the five thousand signatures to the Court of Madrid so that that government might know what to believe with respect to the fidelity of certain subjects and regarding the disinterested purposes of the Tokyo government.

x x x

We have lived many years among Filipinos and we are now almost like them; but we venture to affirm that today the Filipino people, warned from within and without, acquainted by experience with modern colonial life and the "philanthropy of great powers" feels as little enthusiasm for the sun flag as for the star flag.

Neutrality in the affections of the country for either party flows from the interior of a Christian soul which knows better than unfortunate Korea what should be expected from any of the great and ambitious combatants for predominance over the Pacific and its islands.

x x x

[EXHIBIT B]

CONFIDENTIAL COPY.

May 30th, 1913.

His Excellency,
The Governor General

On "A REPORT ON SLAVERY AND PEONAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES" by Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior.

The undersigned is reluctant to submit this memorandum for reasons which are known to Your Excellency.

The first criticism which I would make is on the mention by name in this report of various Constabulary officers. The information on this subject furnished by the Constabulary was naturally understood by me to be confidential and officers' names were to be used only in case of necessity; and it is believed that the cases furnished by Constabulary officers could be described without adding the officers' names. In any event, whether or not I was mistaken in the above opinion, I must earnestly protest against the use of Constabulary officers' names in a report of this character. These names appear in such a way that when the report is published the value of an officer's services will be seriously impaired and his career in the Constabulary probably ruined.

In addition to the foregoing, several paragraphs have been noted which it is believed are to a certain extent misleading.

On page 2F, in the first paragraph, there appears the statement, "It is perhaps not generally known that there are Moros in the southern part of Palawan, which province is under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Legislature." While, technically, Palawan may be considered as under the jurisdiction of the Legislature, it is nevertheless practically under the personal official control and administration of the Secretary of the Interior.

On page 3F, paragraph 7, which refers to the capacity of the Commission to pass an act relating to slavery in the Moro and and non-Christian territory, it is stated, "For such an act, unless supplemented by a similar one by the Assembly, would obviously have been more or less ineffective." This suggests the question, As Mr. Worcester, who has been a member of the Philippine Commission since its organization, must have been aware of the existence of slavery, peonage, etc. a sufficient length of time before the creation of the Assembly to have had numerous cases brought to trial, and, through his influence as Commissioner, to have expedited judicial decisions on same before the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, why did he not take suitable steps to abolish slavery several years ago? To assume that he was ignorant of the existence of the conditions mentioned would be an insult to his intelligence.

On page 4F, the copy of Act 2071 shows that said act was not passed until August 7, 1911. Later on, page 10, fourth paragraph from the bottom, there is stated, "It will be noted that most cases of slavery in Nueva Vizcaya date back from 1905, in which year the Philippine Constabulary took up the question of slavery in this province and prosecuted several cases under 'illegal detention.'" The question naturally presents itself, if a campaign against slavery was started by a Bureau of the Insular Government in 1905, under the head of "illegal detention," why was no attempt made to enact legislation covering this subject until 1911?

Again, on page 4F, great stress is laid upon the fact that "upon four separate occasions the Commission has endeavored to give effect to the will of Congress." It does not explpain why the Commission had not, in the very beginning, made equally strenuous efforts to give effect to the will of Congress.

In the last paragraph of page 7F, which refers to the contemplated purchase of slaves through a Constabulary officer, there occurs the following. "But on further consideration, it occurred to me that were I to do this my action might be subject to great misinterpretation, and, in fact, might lead to fresh raids with a view to restocking in the market or to obtain additional Negritos for sale to Captain ...." As a matter of fact, the undersigned, at the request of Mr. Worcester, received explicit instructions from the Acting Secretary of Commerce and Police to have the Constabulary officer referred to go ahead with the purchase of these so-called slaves, stating that Mr. Worcester, out of government funds at his disposal, would pay for same. This appeared to me to be a very peculiar procedure and one which would subject the government to no end of criticism and inconvenience, and it looked sufficiently serious to justify my bringing the matter to the attention of the

Governor General before allowing a Constabulary officer to proceed with it. I therefore called up Mr. Bowditch by telephone, told him what was under contemplation and asked him to notify the Governor General. In the meantime I suspended action and later received instructions along the lines indicated in the paragraph mentioned. Your Excellency knows why the instructions were changed.

On page 9F, Mr. Worcester has not taken into consideration the fact that a Filipino Constabulary officer might not have a perfect command of English and that he might use an English word similar to a Spanish word in the sense of the latter. The Spanish verb "presentar," while it may mean "to make a present of," "to present" is ordinarily used in the Philippines reflexively and then means "going into the presence of, or reporting to." Under the circumstances, Mr. Worcester's remarks relative to the report of "this Filipino Constabulary officer" are hardly justifiable, and are explainable only by a lack of knowledge of this usage in the Christian provinces.

On page 11F, it is believed the fifth paragraph is unnecessarily insulting to the members of the Assembly.

On page 16F, the last paragraph again throws the onus of anti-slavery legislation upon the Assembly, and again leaves a large loophole for the query, why did not Mr. Worcester urge the Commission to act on the slavery question before the creation of the Philippine Assembly, and why, at this late day, is so much prominence given this question just when it is probable that there will be many changes among the high officials of the Islands? Of course, it can be stated that the interval between the slavery decision of the Supreme Court and the inauguration of the Assembly in 1907, if any such interval existed, was too short a time for the Commission to have an opportunity to act. Nevertheless, it would appear that if a fraction of the enthusiasm and energy displayed by Mr. Worcester at this late date had been shown in the early days of the Commission, before there was an Assembly, an anti-slavery and peonage law would have been in successful operation long before any meetings of the Assembly.

Director.
[Bureau of Constabulary]

[EXHIBIT C]

(Translation)

"LA DEMOCRACIA," Monday, May 5, 1913.

ANOTHER IMPERIALIST RECOURSE.

(Editorial)

x x x

It is very possible that Mr. Worcester has confused with genuine slavery the various forms of oppression exercised by **caciques**, but even though the form exercised by **caciques** exists in the Philippines, it could never be said to have the sanction and approbation of our compatriots, as is proved by the Filipino press, which has, on various occasions, energetically denounced and condemned the abuses and excesses of caciquism.

x x x

The slavery which is being cemented in the Philippines and against which the American Congress should adopt urgent measures, is the political and economic enslavement of our people by foreign dominators and American trusts. This is the most cruel and hateful slavery which is taking root in the Philippines every day, criminally favored by the present regime in deliberate and manifest violation of the celebrated instructions of the unfortunate President McKinley.

(Translation)

"EL IDEAL," Monday, May 5, 1913.

THE LAST EFFORT.

(Editorial)

Secretary Worcester's letter to Senator Borah, whose imperialist extraction is well known, denouncing the existence of slavery in the Philippines and urging its investigation, is the last recourse which the insular administration has found to thwart the joint plan of Democrats and Filipinos for reforming the political status of the country.

If slavery exists to-day, it must have existed all the time that Mr. Worcester has been serving this people, which pay him splendidly. Why, then, did that functionary not think of denouncing it until now? Why did he not undertake the anti-slavery campaign when he was in a better position to do so, when his fellow-imperialists ruled in Washington and everything that their servants here told them was considered as a doctrine of faith? Is it that Mr. Worcestor has deliberately planned to let the Democrats have the glory of giving liberty to the Filipino "slaves," that he may demand a recompense of them as a reward for this signal service?

x x x

What will the American government, which came for the alleged purpose of educating us, making us fit for a democratic government of our own, reply to the serious charge which Mr. Worcester has preferred against it? If the presence of that government has been unable to remedy a thing so fundamentally contrary to the regime as slavery, how can anything good be expected of it? Thus, in the opinion of Mr. Worcester, this government is a scandalous failure.

If what he means to denounce is the condition of a certain kind of servitude, apply its real name to the case. Thus the truth would not be sinned against; thus no injury would be done to anyone.

x x x

Now you know it. Mr. Worcester has declared solemnly and officially that the American government in the Philippines is proslavery. This is its most serious and categorical condemnation.

(Translation)

"EL IDEAL," Tuesday, June 17, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

THE PERPETUAL CONFLICT.

(Editorial)

The endeavor of certain magnates to demonstrate at any cost of existence of slavery in the Philippipnes has the maleficent influence of increasing more and more the distance between the people and the government by demonstrating how true it is that in a colony the interest of the governed is always contrary and opposed to the interest of the governor, and making more salient, this time more visibly so, the obstinate struggle which this conflict of interests continually provokes with detriment to the well-being of the people and to the discredit of the constituted powers.

To what is due the government's endeavor to demonstrate the existence of slavery when it has been clearly demonstrated that if said evil does exist, it is a categorical condemnation of this regime which has been unable to correct it? Well, it is simply due to the fact that this absurd story of slavery is a two-edged weapon which, while it discredits the government, would, if proved, also discredit our people and, apparently, the greatest desire of our authorities, a desire which is superior to self-love itself, is to prove that we are not yet worthy of the just treatment of the Democrats who are determined to heed our demands and to do honor to our legitimate aspirations.

In another part of this number a story appears which demonstrates to what extremes this insane purpose can degenerate, nourished by dislike fomented by personal rancor.

Those agents of the Constabulary, paid by the people to maintain order and to assure the sway of the law, who have been converted to-day into instruments of the powers to discredit this people, of which they are the nominal servants, are the most eloquent example of the absolute want of respect for the people on the part of the men who have attributed to themselves the mission of watching over our fate and defending our interests.

Cruel ironies of destiny!

(Translation)

"EL IDEAL," Tuesday, June 17, 1913.
(Daily Newspaper, Manila, P. I.)

THE STORY OF SLAVERY.

THE GOVERNMENT IS DISPLAYING GREAT ACTIVITY.—THREE INFORMATION AGENTS HUNTING DATA.—IT IS ADVISABLE TO BE ON THE ALERT.

x x x

We know for an absolute certainty that yesterday three Constabulary agents, one American and two Filipinos, were commissioned to visit the houses of residents who have Negritos among their servants in order to interrogate the latter regarding the conditions of their existence and to determine the causes of their servitude. To that end a list of questions was carefully prepared, we suppose by the Secretary of the Interior himself. Several persons in this capital have already been visited by the three agents cited, among them some friends of ours.

x x x

[EXHIBIT D]

February 17, 1912.

His Excellency, the Governor-General,
Manila, P. I.

x x x

Sir:—

The undersigned have the honor to submit the following final report in the investigation made of conditions existing in the Police Department of the City of Manila. The investigation has been conducted by Solicitor-General Harvey with whom have been associated lately the Director and Acting Director of Constabulary. Many witnesses have been examined and hundreds of pages of testimony have been taken.

Your Committee has no apologies to offer or complaints to make, but feels it not improper to say that it has not been unware of an official undercurrent against its work, or of certain coincidences tending to impede it; as, for example, the pardon on Christmas Day of Nicolas Arceo, obtained, we believe, without the usual formalities in such cases. A probable useful witness for the Government thus had his motive for testifying destroyed, this prisoner having been brought from Corregidor Island for examination in this investigation.

Enclosed herewith are submitted:

1. Testimony of Messrs. McDonnell, Harding, Trowbridge, Seaver, Green and some others bearing mainly on the efficiency of the three first named.
2. Testimony of various individuals which, after submission to the Prosecuting Attorney for use in such cases as may be deemed proper to put before the Courts, should then be referred to the Chief of Police for administrative action.

The testimony in the cases of Captains Scott and Wilson, and Patrolmen Barnes, Hendron and Illingworth was submitted to your Excellency, and by your orders was sent to the Prosecuting Attorney for recommendation direct to you as to whether judicial or administrative action should be taken. There remains to be considered the general state of the police force as revealed by the investigation; the responsibility therefor of the controlling officials of the organization and those above them, and the small ramifications of evidence pointing the petty graft and inefficiency on the part of unimportant individuals. The work of following down these last might be prolonged indefinitely, but it belongs to the new chief of a reorganized police force, or the vindicated head of the present one. It should no longer be handled by the undersigned, and will not be further considered in this report.

1. As to the general state of the police force: We conclude that among many of the secret service and plain clothes men of the Manila Police, especially in Meisic and Tondo Precincts, there has existed a systematic failure to enforce the laws against gambling and opium smoking; that some members of both have profited regularly by granting immunity to such violators of law for a consideration, sometimes regularly and sometimes casually collected, this being true of a larger proportionate number of the secret service than of the plain clothes men; that this practice has not extended to the uniformed force, except in the cases of Captains Scott and Wilson, and certain men who have served also as plain clothes men; that these grafts have been going on for some years and until as recently as last October; that robberies and other crimes are frequent, and that the police has failed to cope with them, though it appears to your investigators that a lull in such events has so seemed to coincide with this investigation as to point to suspicion that they were thereby being interferred with.

The disciplinary machinery of the Police — its summary court — appears to be a farce, being so involved in its processes that its records can be understood only by the trial officer, and not setting forth the whole truth regarding proceedings had. There seems to be a quasi-independence of the Secret Service from the control of the Chief of Police, the only apparent reason for so much employment of "plain clothes men" being because secret service men were not available or were not to be trusted. By a blunder in organization for which the police are not to be blamed, the secret service was styled a "Bureau," and its Chief allowed to deal directly with high insular authorities. Captain Green undoubtedly felt uncertain of his ground in dealing with the "Bureau" of Secret Service, and some of Chief Harding's actions are best accounted for on the same theory.

2. As to the responsibility for this state of affairs of the officials of the organization and those above them, the following per-

sons will be considered: Messrs. P. G. McDonnell, Member of the Municipal Board; Chief J. E. Harding of the Police; Chief C. R. Trowbridge of the Bureau of Secret Service and T. C. Welch, Assistant Executive Secretary.

Mr. McDonnell.

This gentleman as Committee on Police of the Municipal Board, assumed these duties when quite young and without experience in such affairs. He does not seem to have held his organization up to a strict performance of duty. Without technical knowledge of police work and disclaiming authority to more than recommend to his subordinates he seems to have meddled in the discipline of the force and to have discouraged the attempts of Acting Chief Green to purge the force of evildoers, where every consideration of public interest and personal pride should have prompted him to push the investigation with all energy. The disinclination of Captain Green to take his Police Committee into confidence should have called for action on the part of Member McDonnell, if his work as Police Committee was to be of any real use. The issues as to fact between former Captain Green and Member McDonnell are apparent on reading the testimony taken, but as they are offset, the one by the other, do not call for comment here. As to whether Mr. McDonnell consciously or otherwise assisted to mislead your Excellency in the matter of the action taken on the gambling policemen is a matter in which your own memory probably needs no assistance. The least that your Committee can say is that Mr. McDonnell has been inefficient to a point justifying the complete loss of public confidence which now exists, and we believe that the public interest demands that your Excellency should at once signify to the Municipal Board your wish that Mr. McDonnell cease to be the Committee on Police.

Chief J. E. Harding.

Though there are vague references to graft etc., we are of the opinion that Chief Harding has not profited by furnishing protection to crime and criminals, and that he is honest in a money sense. Certain evidence exists of immorality, but that having been the subject of investigation by a former Govenor-General is not considered in this investigation. There is much to indicate that had Chief Harding been held up to strict accountability by an able and energetic superior on the Municipal Board he would have made a Chief of perhaps more than average efficiency. But a man who had the qualities requisite for the important position Chief Harding has held could have been efficient in spite of the weight of inefficiency above him. Inactivity under such circumstances as have existed in the Manila Police for the last year — its reputation being constantly under fire, means nothing but incompetence. For over five months after his return from leave Chief Harding, though aware of the charges against the force administered by him for nearly eight years, contented himself with an occasional statement from his subordinate, Green, that the latter would turn some papers, and with one interview with the Prosecuting Attorney. Finally obtaining the necessary papers from the Director of Constabulary he wasted from August 1st to November 11th with listening to excuses from Green whom he ordered to proceed with the investigation, and himself examined an occasional document on Sundays. It shows either an absolute inability to recognize a serious situation, or fear to press the investigation. From responsibility for the loose methods by which secret service and plain clothes men systematically grafted on gambling games and opium joints it is impossible to divorce Chief Harding. If he knew of them and did not terminate them, he is criminal; if as Chief he did not know of them, then he is inefficient, for beyond doubt they have existed for a long time. So, too, with the existence of the games and joints themselves. So, too, with the frequent robberies and other crimes that have occurred in certain districts of the city. Chief Harding has been inefficient to a degree where he no longer has the respect and confidence of the public. It is recommended that his resignation be taken at once.

Chief C. R. Trowbridge.

We are of the opinion that Chief Trowbridge has not profited by connivance at crime or by furnishing protection to it, and that in a money sense he is an honest man. Nor is anything shown in this investigation to reflect upon his reputation for morality. He seems to be a weak man in an important position with an inability to believe in the wrong-doing of anyone under him. The bad state of his health which has existed for a long time may partly account for his inefficiency. It appears established beyond a doubt that he lent no friendly co-operation and rendered no loyal service to his superior, Acting Chief of Police Green, in his efforts to make the Police and Secret Service a body of honest men. Informed of Captain Green's suspicions he made no effort to start an investigation as to guilt or innocence of his own men, and practically confesses his inability to make such an investigation without being furnished "something tangible to take hold of." That under his administration of the Secret Service there has reigned a revel of graft and crime is not to be doubted. We have here the same alternative presented as in the case of Chief Harding. If Mr. Trowbridge knew of these things and did not stop them with an iron hand, he is guilty with the actual perpetrators; if he being Chief did not know of them, he is hopelessly inefficient. It is recommended that the resignation of Chief Trowbridge be exacted at once.

Thomas Cary Welch.

This gentleman when offered the opportunity to testify on so much of Captain Green's published statement as affected him, declined the opportunity to appear, which under the circumstances is taken as an admission of the truth of the statements involving him. There seems nothing more serious to them, however, than that he was an officious meddler in matters that do not appear to have been delegated to him by your Excellency, and by his actions encouraged incompetence and inefficiency to believe that they had a friend in high place, and by that much delayed and hindered the effort made by Captain Green to clean up the police force and secret service. Such assumptions of authority are of course an obstacle to good government, and not only misrepresent your Excellency, but confuse and humiliate honest public servants. The remedy in this case is so obvious that no recommendation is submitted.

General Recommendations.

That the vacancy of Chief of the Bureau of Secret Service if made be not filled, a competent captain of the police being assigned to take charge of it similarly as they are assigned to the command of precincts. As soon as in the opinion of your Excellency it is practically opportune the secret service of the city, of the Internal Revenue and Customs should be combined under the supervision of the Director of Constabulary with the Information Division of that Bureau. The maintenance of four separate secret services in Manila is indefensible, and directly at variance with your policy of centralizing specialties in the Bureau of Department where they can best be handled. These services now bid against each other for employees, duplicate outside work and records, and doubtless spend much time watching each other. In the belief that it would be politically unwise to attempt legislation which would radically change the organization of the city police and alter its relations with the Municipal Board no recommendation regarding that is submitted.

Very respectfully,

(Sgd.) GEO. R. HARVEY
Solicitor-General.

(Sgd.) J. G. HARBORD
Acting Director of
Constabulary.

[EXHIBIT E]

Baguio, March 7, 1912.

Sir:

I have the honor to make a special report on my investigation of the conditions in Tondo Precinct, known as Precinct No. 5, commanded by Captain Vicente Usac.

My attention was first directed to Tondo Precinct by information to the effect that on October 3, 1911, about 9 a.m., a Chinaman named Ngan Kak was arrested and taken to Tondo Police Station by two plain-clothes men, who stated that they found in his possession six Macao lottery tickets; that the Chinaman and the lottery tickets were turned over to Desk Sergeant Ramon Victorio and Patrol Sergeant Gabriel Tabalon; that Nicolas Lomboy, a patrolman in charge of the telephone, is the one who made the entry in the sergeants' scratch book; that the scratch book showed the true cause of the arrest of the Chinaman and the numbers of the lottery tickets; that Sergeant Fernando Ordax, by agreement with the captain, entered into negotiations for the liberty of said Chinaman upon the payment of ₱200.00, and that upon the same day the Chinaman was placed at liberty, it being made to appear on the "blotter del servicio" (desk form?) that the Chinaman was arrested for violation of ordinance 135, that is, vagrancy, and that he was liberated for lack of evidence.

This information appeared to me to indicate a grave irregularity, and I placed a note on the memorandum, as follows:

> Ask Captain Seaver for scratch blotter of Tondo Police Station for October 3, 1911; also service blotter of same station."

When I spoke to Captain Seaver about the matter he told me that it had been investigated by Captain Green and that he, Captain Seaver, was intending to investigate it again himself. I told him to go ahead and investigate it and to let me know the result. He later told me that he could get no information at all; I then gave him the information that I had. He investigated, and reported to the Chief of Police under date of December 12, 1911, that the Chinaman was released by Captain Usac upon the intervention of a Chinese merchant who assured him that they would furnish evidence to convict the importer, and simply held that Captain Usac exceeded his authority in releasing a man charged with a crime, and expressed the belief that it was only a case of bad judgment.

Captain Seaver gave me a copy of his report to the Chief of Police, and upon reading it I told Captain Seaver that in view of my information his report did not explain it. The Chinaman Ngan Kak denied before Captain Seaver that he had told the captain he would furnish him information as to where he got the lottery tickets and did not promise to show him; and the other Chinaman, Juan Tan To, did not corroborate the captain's statement (see Captain Seaver's report attached hereto). Captain Seaver told me that the form No. 1, reporting this arrest, only showed that Ngan Kak was arrested for investigation, and not for vagrancy, and that the form No. 2 showed that he was released for lack of evidence. He said the records of Tondo Police Station did not show that the Chinaman was arrested for violation of ordinance 135, but for "violation of law." I had full confidence in Captain Seaver, and accepted his explanation as to what the record showed, but told him that I thought the matter should be further investigated as to the practice of a precinct commander reporting a man arrested for investigation when, as a matter of fact, the sergeants' scratch book showed that he was arrested for selling lottery tickets and actually had six lottery tickets in his possession; and that according to his own statement form No. 2, in the office of the Chief of Police, showed that the Chinaman was released for lack of evidence when the evidence of his guilt was apparent, six lottery tickets having been found in his possession. Then and there, with the assistance of Captain Seaver, I wrote a letter to the Chief of Police, based upon what

Captain Seaver had just told me. Said letter is as follows:

> "Sir:
>
> "Referring to attached copy of report of Captain Seaver as Assistant Chief of Police on investigation made by him of the arrest and release of the Chinaman named Ngan Kak on October 3, 1911, in Precinct No. 5, I beg to call your attention to the fact that Captain Seaver does not mention the investigation of the alleged fact that at the time of the arrest of the Chinaman, entry was made on the sergeants' scratch blotter that the prisoner was arrested for having in his possession certain lottery tickets, giving the numbers thereof: and on the Form No. 1 sent to the Chief of Police the following day it was reported that the Chinaman was arrested for 'investigation', and Form No. 2 sent to the Chief of Police showed that the prisoner was placed at liberty by the Precinct Commander for lack of evidence
>
> "This matter is connected with the official conduct of a member of the Police Department, and I have been furnished a memorandum of the matter and was informed by Captain Seaver that it had been investigated by Captain Green, and I personally gave my information to Captain Seaver, who said he would investigate the case. He has kindly given me a copy of his report.
>
> "I call this to your attention in order that you may, if you deem it necessary, direct further investigation into the facts and reach a conclusion as to whether or not it is a proper practice, when a person is arrested for such a crime as that of having possession of lottery tickets, for the Precinct Commander to state to the Chief of Police in his Form No. 1 that the prisoner was arrested for investigation and state falsely in his form No. 2 that the prisoner was released for lack of evidence."

A week or two afterward I had occasion to call Patrolman Nicolas Lomboy, of Tondo Police Station, in connection with the investigation of a case of alleged rape by a policeman while Lomboy was on duty as desk sergeant in Paco Precinct. Incidentally, I questioned him about this arrest of the Chinaman Ngan Kak, and Lomboy told me about it, his statement being in every particular according to the information that had come to me, except as to the ₱200.00; Lomboy said he did not know anything about that. Lomboy's statement rather surprised me, in view of the investigation and report that had been made by Captain Seaver. I took Lomboy's statement under oath, and Colonel Crame and I went immediately to Tondo Police Station and examined the records, and found everything to be exactly as stated by Lomboy, except that if his statement were true the desk form had apparently been substituted, and instead of showing a charge of "vagrancy" it showed "violation of law." We examined the record of prisoners, which is a large bound record book, the entries in which could not possibly be substituted, and found that the original entry had been "Viol. of sec. 1, ord. 135, R. O.", and the words "sec. 1, ord. 135 R. O." had been lightly scratched with a pen, and the word "law" written quite heavily over the words scratched out. I asked Captain Usac about this, and he admitted the fact that this entry had been changed by his order, but did not tell me when, and I did not ask him, as I did not then suspect that it had been done since I began the investigation. We also examined the scratch book, and found that it showed in a red ink notation that this Chinaman was released by the precinct commander and that **his six lottery tickets were delivered to him.** Captain Usac also told Colonel Crame and me, then and there, that form No. 1, reporting this arrest to the office of the Chief of Police, showed the charge of violation of ordinance 135.

In view of the investigation of this matter by Captain Seaver and his report to the Chief of Police and his statements to me, the admissions of Captain Usac astounded me. I went as soon as practicable to the office of the Chief of Police and asked to see form No. 1 reporting the arrest of this Chinaman. There it was written in plain words that the charge was violation of ordinance 135, with the specification "vagrancy," and underneath, in parenthesis, "under investigation." I asked Captain Seaver about this, and he stated that he had never seen this form No. 1 at all, but acted solely on what was shown by the desk form in Tondo Police Station. I then reminded him what he had stated to me in my office, which was the basis of the letter that I wrote to the Chief of Police with his, Captain Seaver's, assisstance, which letter is above quoted. Captain Seaver afterwards told me that he was very much ashamed about this matter of the contents of said form No. 1.

After the occurrence last above related I called Sergeant Victorio and Sergeant Rodriguez, of Tondo Precinct, and it was apparent to me that in giving their testimony they were endeavoring in every possible way to protect Captain Usac. For instance, in the examination of Sergeant Victorio the following questions were asked and given:

> "Q. Who made the entry in the scratch book about this arrest? A. Policeman Lomboy by my order.
>
> "Q. Did you have him make a correct and thruthful entry in the scratch book concerning this arrest? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. When you ordered him put in the calaboose, who put him in the calaboose? A. I believe Lolomboy himself.

"Q. Who was in charge of the prisoners' book? A. The jailer, Faustino Feliciano, but under the inspection of the desk sergeant.

"Q. Whose duty was it to make the entry in the prisoner's book when the prisoner was put in jail? A. It was the direct duty of the sergeant, but if he is occupied he directs the jailer or the door man to do it.

"Q. Then if you did not make the entry concerning this arrest in the prisoners' book it was made under your order or instructions? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Do you remember what entry was made in the Prisoners' book when this Chinaman was put in jail? A. 'For violation of law', but I told the policeman Feliciano to charge him also with violation of ordinance 135 for vagrancy under investigation.

"Q. Why did you order him to charge the Chinaman with violation of ordinance No. 135, for vagrancy? A. I ordered him to charge the Chino with 'violation of law,' besides vagrancy, in order to investigate if he had work or business, or not.

"Q. Then, it is a fact that you ordered the jailer to make the entry in the prisoners' book that this Chinaman was arrested for a violation of ordinance No. 135, which is the vagrancy ordinance? A. I ordered the jailer to charge him, besides a violation of the law, with a violation of ordinance No. 135, with vagrancy under investigation. The next day I ordered Plain-clothes man Mateo to investigate what kind of work this Chino had, telling Mateo not to forget to go to the Prosecuting Attorney's office to file complaint against this Chino for a violation of the law, but plain-clothes man Mateo told me the Chino had been released by order of the precinct commander."

It was clear to me at the time Sergeant Victorio was not telling the whole truth. He was very nervous and could not sit still. Colonel Crame, who was interpreting Victorio's testimony, made a remark about his nervousness and uneasiness. Now, about the close of this investigation Captain Vicente Usac testified on February 27, 1912, that after Captain Seaver had been to Tondo Police Station and had investigated the desk form and scratch book for October 3rd and had gone away, he, Captain Usac, examined the prisoner's book and ordered the clerk to scratch out the words "sec. 1, ord. 135 O. R." and to put over them the word "law." (Captain Usac's testimony, p. 14). I take it that this admission by Captain Usac against his own interest must be absolutely true, and therefore the testimony of Sergeant Victorio that he ordered the jailer to charge Ngan Kak with "violation of law," as well as "violation of ordinance 135" is absolutely false, and he must have known that it was false at the time he was giving his testimony; and, further, that the testimony of the jailer, Feliciano, wherein he tried to corroborate Sergeant Victorio on this point, is also false, and it is reasonable to presume that he, the jailer, so testified at the instance or under the orders of Sergeant Victorio.

About the time I was examining Sergeants Victorio and Rodriguez in regard to this Ngan Kak matter I received information to the effect that the records of Tondo Police Station were being changed and corrected and manipulated to cover up irregularities, and also received information which led me to believe that the Chief of Police was acting in collusion with Captain Usac in this work. For that reason I requested the Chief of Police to have the scratch book covering the month of October, 1911, and the prisoners' book covering the same time, delivered to me in my office, and, as I remember, they were delivered to me by Captain Usac on January 10, 1912. An examination of the entry in the prisoners' book, above referred to as having been lightly scratched, showed that it had since my previous examination been blotted or blurred so that the scratched part could not be read. Captain Usac explained at the time that he did not know who did this.

My information to the effect that the Chief of Police was assisting Captain Usac in changing his records was to some extent confirmed by the recent testimony of Captain Usac, Sergeant Ordax, and patrolman Rufino Bernal. Rufino Bernal, who is working as clerk in the office of Captain Usac, testified that the handwriting on the right hand margin of page 27 of the prisoners' book, in fresh red ink, was his own; that Sergeant Ordax gave him a note in English in December, 1911, to be copied on the margin and that the writing appearing there in red ink is what appeared on said note. He testified that Sergeant Ordax gave him no reason for having him make the entry in December, 1911, but only ordered him to copy that note in the book.

Sergeant Ordax, on pages 7, 8, and 9 of his testimony, testified that he gave the note to the clerk, Rufino Bernal, telling him to put it in this book the same as the note he had made by order of Captain Usac for the purpose of putting it in the desk form, and that he, Ordax, did this in December, 1911. He further testified:

> "I suppose it was in the month of December, 1911, on account of Captain Seaver's inspection made of the books at the station. Then Captain Usac told me that according to the red check marke on the hand margin of page 27 he found that the two numbers 102 and 103 were not checked; then he told me that he would go to office of the Police in order to ascertain if form No. I and form No. 2, covering the two men arrested, had been made. When he was at police headquarters he called me up over the 'phone and told me to get the desk form of April 22, 1909, and put in the disposition column thereof, under 'disposition' the disposition of these two Chinamen; and he told me that I might remember the case because we were present at the time when Sergeant Mendoza reported to him this case one afternoon. and he told me to put in the details; x x x Then, when copied, I took the desk form myself and returned to police headquarters and gave it to Captain Usac. Now, about one or two days later (I don't remember exactly) the captain told me to put the same disposition in this prisoners' book. The I told the captain I did not remembr exactly what I had put on the desk form; that perhaps I might make a mistake. Then the captain told me 'It makes no difference; put down just what happened, though it may not be exactly as it appeared on the desk form, word for word.' Then I make another note myself about the disposition of these two Chinamen and gave it to the clerk, patrolman Bernal, to put in the prisoners' book."

In connection with Captain Usac's explanation of his reasons for liberating the two Chinaman above referred to, he testified, on page 2 of his testimony, as follows:

> "On account of a mistake that was noticed in this, the prisoners' book, I examined it, and when I came to the names of these two Chinos I noticed opposite their two names there were no check marks indicating that forms Nos. I and 2 had been sent to the office of the of the Chief of Police. Then I told the clerk to look in the receipt book and see if there was a receipt there for the delivery of the forms Nos. 1 and 2, to the office of the Chief of Police on April 22, 1909. He told me there was no receipt there covering the delivery of forms Nos. 1 and 2 to the office of the Chief of Police, but there appeared to be a receipt for form No. 2, but that he did not know if it was in reference to these two Chinos; so I went to the office of the Chief of Police and asked the Chief if forms Nos. 1 and 2 had been sent to his office in reference to the two Chinos. The Chief told me they had not been received in his office. Then the Chief told me to put in the desk form the disposition taken in regard to the Chinos where their names appeared. Then I called Sergeant Ordax over the 'phone from the office of the Chief of Police and told him to take the desk form of April 22, 1909, where appeared the names of the Chinos in question, Jo Quinco and Chua Peng, and to put down the disposition taken in this case; but before this I asked

> Sergeant Ordax if he remembered the case distinctly where the two Chinos were arrested by Cristobal for having lottery tickets in their possession and attempting to bribe the policemen with P8.00 and that it was claimed by the Chinos that the lottery tickets were taken by the patrolman from the drawer of his tienda, and that the P8.00 was taken from his pocket. Sergeant Ordax said 'Yes, I remember that very well.' Then I told him to make a notation accordingly on the desk form. After Sergeant Ordax had complied with my instructions he took the desk form to the office of the Chief of Police and there handed it to me. I gave it to the Chief of Police, and I saw him put it in his safe. The following day, or two days thereafter, I told Sergeant Ordax to write a note in English and to give it to the clerk in the office of Tondo Police Station showing the disposition taken in regard to those two Chinamen, in order that the clerk might make the proper entry in the prisoners' book, which was done."

I did not call the Chief of Police as a witness in this connection as he was sick at the time in the General Hospital.

The foregoing are samples of numerous irregularities in the conduct of the business of Tondo Police Station. The details are too numerous to undertake to state them here. It is sufficient to say that the farther I went with the invesigation of Tondo Station the more convinced I was that a thorough investigation is necessary. However, I could not make a complete investigation because it would be too voluminous, and the work properly belongs to the Inspector of Police; but I took the testimony of a number of witnesses, and examined the records to some extent, and found that the opportunities for graft, favoritism, and oppression have been innumerable, and the sworn declarations of the captain and various sergeants, patrolmen and plain-clothes men convince me that conditions in Tondo Precinct are anything but satisfactory. Four of the plain-clothes men have been suspended for grafting, and if graft or other corruption has not been practiced by their superiors in that precinct it is because they are too honest to engage in that kind of business.

It is impossible to get any adequate idea of the conditions in Tondo Precinct without reading the testimony of the witnesses, and perhaps we have uncovered only a small fraction of the irregularities. The evidence, however, does not prove satisfactorily the commission of crime, and in the present state of the evidence the case is one for administrative action.

In do not feel that I would be justified in asking for the suspension of Captain Usac or any of his sergeants for irregularities, incompetency, or inefficiency, because their superiors in office may not view the evidence and the conditions in that precinct as I do.

I therefore respectfully submit in connection with this special report the evidence of various witnesses throwing some light upon the state of affairs in Tondo. While I do not make any recommendations, I feel positive that an examination of this record will show the necessity for changes in the personnel of Tondo Police Station, if removals or resignations are not required.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) GEO. R. HARVEY,
Solicitor-General,

Special Investigator under the
provisions of Act No. 1697.

To His Excellency,
The Governor-General,
Baguio, P. I.

[EXHIBIT F]

Baguio, March 11, 1913.

Sir:

I have the honor to make a special report in regard to the connection of Captain C. R. Trowbridge, Chief of the Secret Service Bureau of Manila, with the defense of Eugenio Samio, one of his subordinates, when Samio was prosecuted for homicide on account of the shooting of Faustino Austria in what is known as the "Pandacan shooting affair."

On June 19, 1909, John Walczykowski, Eugenio Samio and Juan Santos, members of the Secret Service Bureau of Manila, made a raid on a gambling house in Pandacan. Several gamblers attempted to escape, and a number of shots were fired by the secret-service men, and one gambler on the side of the house guarded by Samio fell mortally wounded with a bullet-hole in his head; he was taken to the San Juan de Dios Hospital and died a few hours later.

The physical facts and the circumstances tended to show that the man was shot by Eugenio Samio, but apparently no effort was made at the time to get the facts of the shooting of the man. The records of the Secret Service Bureau show a so-called investigation made several days afterwards, but no facts of importance were developed, except to show possibly that Samio did not shoot the man. All inculpatory facts were apparently overlooked.

The Assistant Prosecuting Attorney filed an information against Eugenio Samio, and he was tried and acquitted on the ground of the insufficiency of the evidence.

The court, in the decision of the case, states the facts leading up to the shooting, as follows:

> On June nineteenth last, one Faustino Austria died at the Hospital of San Juan de Dios in this city as the result, according to the physicians, of a bullet wound. He was brought to the hospital from a house in the District of Pandacan which had been, during that afternoon, the scene of certain gambling operations and which had been raided by the police about 3 p.m. The accused was one of several policemen who conducted the raid and each was armed with a revolver and supplied in advance with eleven cartridges. The house was approached with stealth, so as not to warn the gamblers of whom, according to one witness for the prosecution (De Lara) there were at least forty, and the door was forced. The moment the presence of the police became known the inmates attempted to escape on all sides. In the midst of the confusion thus caused a number of gunshots were heard. The American officer in charge of the raid testifies that he fired five times in the air in order to frighten those attempting to escape and there is testimony of as many as ten shots. The accused testifies that he did not discharge his revolver at all.

Special attention is invited to the claim of the defendant that he did not discharge his revolver at all. I this connection, the testimony of Agustin Nocum, taken before me, throws light on the matter:

> I was employed in the Secret Service Bureau of Manila when the Pandacan affair occurred, and there I heard it said among my companions that Samio had requested the loan from Saragan of five revolver cartridges because Samio had fired the cartridges that he had in Pandacan and in consequence had killed a man, and that Chief Trowbridge was informed of the cartridges that Samio had borrowed from Saragan.

Bartolome Saragan testified before me, as follows:

> In one of the days of 1909, the day and month I do not remember I was working in the Secret Service Bureau of Manila as a secret-

> service agent, being that day on guard in the office. At 4:30 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon detectives Samio, Walczykowski and Juan Santos arrived at the office, and detective Samio called me, he being behind the door, and as I approached him he asked me to lend him five revolver cartridges. I answered that I couldn't give them to him because I was on guard there, to which Samio replied that he would return to me the five cartridges the following day, and added telling me that he had fired all the cartridges he had in his revolver in Pandacan and by said shots had killed a gambler, and in view of this I took from my belt five cartridges and gave them to Samio. The following day, in th morning, **I told Chief Trowbridge that Samio had asked me for the loan of five revolver cartridges and that Samio had told me that the cartridges he had he had fired them in Pandacan and by said shots had killed a man. Chief Trowbridge replied to me and told me "Be quiet; don't say anything to anybody."** When I told this to chief Trowbridge, Mr. Hard was in Mr. Trowbridge's room. I don't know whether Mr. Hard heard what I said to Chief Trowbridge or not.

The court, in the decision of the case against Samio for homicide, reviewed the evidence of several witnesses who were present at the time of the shooting, and then, referring to Samio's claim that he had not fired his revolver at all, the court said:

> On the other hand, his claim that he fired no shot is corroborated to some extent by Chief Trowbridge who says that he made an examination (elsewhere shown to have been the day following) of the accused's revolver and found it clean and that the full allowance of ammunition was turned in by the accused.

In a recent examination of Captain Trowbridge on February 14. 1912, the following questions were asked by me and the answers given by Captain Trowbridge (Capt. Trowbridge's testimony, p. 68):

> Q. In the case of the Pandacan shooting, for instance, in which Samio was charged with killing a man, you appeared in court as a witness in his behalf? A. I did.
>
> Q. You testified that you inspected his revolver and that there were no vacant chambers? A. I did.
>
> Q. He was acquitted, was he not? A. He was.
>
> "Q. Did you know anything about any other matters involved in the case except the condition in which you found his revolver?
>
> A. I think you will find I testified that I found his revolver chambers full, but I also found where he had obtained the cartridges with which to fill his revolver to replace those which had been fired.

> Q. What do you remember about that at this time? A. **I think I found some other agent in the office from whom he borrowed six cartridges; I don't remember who it was now; that he returned them the next day.**
>
> Q. Then, as a matter of fact, at the time you inspected his revolver he had refilled the chambers with cartridges which he bad borrowed from some one else? A. He had.
>
> Q. Why did you inspect his revolver? A. It was the most natural thing to do when I found a man had been shot; I investigated the matter.
>
> Q. At the time you inspected his revolver did you know he had borrowed six cartridges from another secret-service man, or did you learn that afterwards? A. I found it out afterwards, I believe.

After the foregoing examination of Captain Trowbridge on February 14, 1912, I received an official copy of his testimony as a witness for the defense in the trial of said homicide case against Samio, and I find that Captain Trowbridge's testimony on this point is substantially as follows:

> I called for his revolver and I examined his revolver and asked for the ammunition on Monday, which was two days after this gambling game was raided. He had no extra ammunition on his person at the time I examined his gun and I sent a man with him to his house to get his extra ammunition. I examined the barrel inside and it was clean; that is it had not been fired. There was nothing to show that it had been fired or if it had been fired it had been cleaned afterwards. The defendant turned in his full allowance of ammunition of eleven cartridges. (Trowbridge's testimony before the court, p.4).

Captain Trowbridge also testified before the court as follows (pp. 5 and 6):

> I did not find any place where he did procure cartridges, but he could have procured them from almost anybody that had some. Investigation was made at all police stations and cartridges were checked up. The men were called in by order of the Chief of Police to see if they were short of cartridges.

The testimony of Agustin Nocum and Bartolome Saragan is substantially corroborated by that of Captain Trowbridge himself to the effect that his investigation showed that Eugenio Samio borrowed cartridges from some other agent in the office and returned them the next day, and yet Captain Trowbridge went on the witness stand in behalf of Samio and testified before the court: I did not find any place where he did procure cartridge, but he could have procured them from almost anybody that had some. Investigation was made at all police stations and cartridges were checked up. The men were called in by order of the Chief of Police to see if they were short of cartridges." And then Chief Trowbridge came before me on February 14, 1912, and testified: "I think you will find I testified that I found his revolver chambers full, but I also found where he had obtained the cartridges with which to fill his revolver to replace those which had been fired. I think I found some other agent in the office from whom he borrowed six cartridges; I don't remember who it was now; that he returned them the next day."

Comment or recommendation is deemed unnecessary.

Respectfully submitted.

(Sgd.) GEORGE R. HARVEY
Solicitor-General,

Special Investigator under the
provisions of Act No. 1697.

To His Excellency,
The Governor-General,
Manila

[EXHIBIT G]

THIS IS AN AFFIDAVIT BY CHUA LUIS SANE, WHO CAME VOLUNTARILY AND UNEXPECTEDLY TO THE INFORMATION DIVISION, PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY, MANILA.

March 26, 1913.

Since I was a witness in the Police Investigation the Secret Service Bureau and Captain Scott, of Meisic Precinct, are after me very hard. They try to get any Chinaman to put up a job on me and get me into trouble if possible.

I have also been arrested by Captain Scott a couple of times but have been acquitted in court. After the last case I was acquitted of in Court, I found out that Captain Scott and Sergeant Henderson and George Marshall tried to get a certain Chinese to put up a job on me. Then I left Manila and now live out of town in Caloocan.

Night before last Mr. Marshall and two other Americans were searching the place where I was. They did not find anything, so next day I filed a charge against them for illegal entry in the Justice of the Peace court in Caloocan. Then they went to my place again yesterday about twelve o'clock and about the same time that we came from the Justice of the Peace's court in Caloocan. Mr. Hartpence showed me a search warrant from the court of the City of Manila saying he wanted to search my house. After I read the search warrant I said "Yes; that is a search warrant, all right; you can search all you please." At the same time that Mr. Hartpence showed me the search warrant an American came from somewhere outside the house and said: "I have found a pipe." They then searched the house but did not find anything. They then arrested me and seven of my companions and brought us down to the Secret Service Bureau and kept me until last night and then let me out on ₱500 cash bail.

Yesterday afternoon George Marshall called me out and talked to me. He asked me "Why did you go as a witness for the police investigation? Who got you into it?" I told him that Solicitor-General Harvey subpoenaed me, wanting me to tell the truth and I told him all I knew, which was all true." Then he said: "You are a g—d— liar; I know who got you to testify against those people." I told him "No, nobody except the Solicitor-General, Mr. Harvey." He said: "I have known you for a long time. You will have to tell me the truth. I may help you out in some way, because I have no use for a man who tells a lie." He then said: "Colonel Crame and Mr. Wright made you testify against those people." I told him "No."

After that conversation he called Mr. Hartpence and Hartpence was sitting beside; then he talked to me in some other way; asking me the same thing. I forgot his exact words. Then Marshall tole [sic] Mr. Hartpence: "This man won't tell anything; lock him up and don't let him see anybody and don't give him bail until I come back to-night." That was about half past three or four o'clock. Marshall did not come back and I got out through the assistance of my attorney about eight o'clock last night. I could not telephone to my attorney but my wife and another Chinaman did, and he (my attorney) came down and got me out on bail.

Last month Captain Scott tried to get a Chinese Chan Wun Chung, who is the president of the Gee Hoc Tong club, to testify against me for blackmail in the Japanese-Chinese Boycott society because at that time I was appointed as a secretary of the Chinese Community of the Japanese Boycott society. The Chinese Chan Wun Chung refused to testify against me because I did not do anything or make any abuse on any Chinese in the city of Manila; also when I was appointed as secretary of the Chinese Community of the Japanese boycott, three days after I found out that I was appointed I presented a letter that I could not accept it and Captain Scott tried to get several other Chinamen to say something against me, but none of them would do it as I had done nothing wrong.

This statement I make voluntarily and of my own desire. I came to this office of my own free will and, so far as I know, unexpected. I am merely seeking justice.

(Sgd.) CHUA LUIS SANE

I hereby certify that the above statement was signed in my presence and that the man signing same was Chua Luis Sane as evidenced by his cedula personal No. F-12,647, issued at Manila, January 29, 1913.

(Sgd.) R. M. CRAME
Lieut-Colonel and Assistant

Director, P. C., Superintendent
Information Division.

[EXHIBIT H]

Manila, April 15, 1913.

My dear General:

On my arrival at Manila Friday night I was met at the train by Mr. Bopp. I asked Mr. Bopp to look for Mr. Cox and tell him that I wished to see him in my office the following day. When I arrived at the office the next morning I found Mr. Cox waiting for me. I asked him why he had said that he obtained the information directly from me that there was to be another police investigation, and he answered that he did not obtain the information from me neither directly nor indirectly, and that he would prove that he had made no such statement and he went away, promising to return with the proofs, which he did to-day, handing me the enclosed documents.

In view of these documents, the whole question appears to be reduced to this: that they tried to carry out that part of the program of Chief Harding and his friends in respect to me. It is an indisputable fact, one that needs no proof because it is clearly visible, that Chief Harding, not content with having been exonerated (both he and his) of the grave charges which were over them and are over them, initiated a series of persecutions and reprisals against those who in any way assisted or cooperated with the investigation of those charges. Of those, those who were in the police have been separated from it in one way or another, including Captain Crame. The only thing lacking to complete their program is the destruction of Colonel Crame, and to this end they are now directing their energies.

You remember, General, the publication of the articles in the "Daily Bulletin" against Santiago Alvarez in connection with my office, that I advised you of a week before they appeared. You will also remember the message sent by Chief Harding to Archbishop Harty that I had reported that the Archbishop was conspiring with th insurgents against the Jones Bill. This false accusation of Harding's was transmitted by Mr. Mehan to the Archbishop. To-day Mr. Bruce, lawyer and friend of Harding, accuses me of having given the information published in the "Times" respecting a new investigation of the police. The enclosed documents demonstrate the falsity of such an accusation.

At any rate, I did not give out that information, nor do I think that there should be a new investigation, because it will do no good. No one will be bold enough to testify against the police. The persecution of the witnesses and those who assisted in the investigation, and the protection and support of the accused parties and their partizans, are facts which convince the public that they should not oppose the intractable force of Chief Harding and his friends; and which keep alive the sentiment of the people.

You will remember, also, General, that I declined to obey your order to help Captain Green and afterward Mr. Harvey, but you compelled me to do so and I did it honorably and faithfully, and, nevertheless, to-day I am the victim of calumny and vengeance to satisfy the pride of Chief Harding. It is painful to hear the clamor of the victims of this persecution and embarrassing for an official of my character to have to listen to their complaints.

All of those who were separated from the service by the two investigations are enjoying good salaries, and it is indubitable that they could not obtain them without the protection of their ex-chiefs, being, as they are, employees discharged for graft; in contradistinction from those who cooperated with the investigation and who cannot now obtain employment on account of the persecution of Chief Harding. The case of Severino Cristobal is shameful, and only to save Captain Usac, a friend of Harding and a kinsman of Commissioner Araneta, notwithstanding that Usac committed acts punishable by law and plainly proven, and this same Captain Usac is covered with honor in his position, while Captain Crame was separated from the corps for the violation of a police regulation.

These are the facts, General, and, therefore, I feel deeply wounded by the accusation that has been formulated against me. Although His Excellency, the Governor-General, has been very good and just in his due appreciation, nevertheless, seeing the unscrupulousness with which they work and have worked against me and others connected with the investigation—for, as is seen, they even tried to use the Archbishop of Manila for the above purpose—I fear that some day I will receive, as a recompense for my long services, my separation from the Constabulary in virture of other charges which may in future be maliciously formulated against me, like the ones I have cited, but ably prepared by Chief Harding and his friends. For this reason I consult you, on personal grounds, as to what I should do and if it would not be well for me to take a long vacation and absent myself from Manila until this state of things shall have ceased?

Perhaps this proposition will appear ridiculous to you, because I myself apparently diminish my own prestige, or because my fear may appear unfounded, but taking into consideration the trend taken by things and the procedure adopted to this end, it appears logical.

Captain Crame has been accused of having fabricated the declarations made before Captain Green; and is it not possible that they will now accuse me of having fabricated the declarations made before Mr. Harvey, especially since the plea of guilty entered by Mr. Dick?

I shall cite one example: Patrolman Viciera, in an extensive declaration before Mr. Harvey, admitted having accepted bribes together with Messrs. Barnes and Dunca. Afterward Viciera testified as a witness for the defense of Barnes and is yet in the Corps. I have been confidentially informed that Viciera excused himself with his chiefs by saying that all that he testified to before Mr. Harvey was suggested by me and for this reason he remains in the police. Another case like that of Fermin de la Cruz is the Usac case.

Here you have my fear, and the reasons therefor.

Very sincerely yours,
(Sgd.) R. CRAME.

Brigadier-General H. H. Bandholtz,
Director of Constabulary,
Baguio, Mountain, P.I.

Baguio, P. I., April 18, 1913.

Colonel Rafael Crame,
Superintendent, Information Division,
Philippine Constabulary,
Manila, P. I.

My dear Crame:

Replying to your letter of the 15th inst., I am returning you herewith the original signed statement of Messrs. Cox and Lewis, which I think you ought to retain in your personal possession. I have had copies of same made for our files.

I read over your letter with much interest and sympathy, and I woud think the matter need not give you much personal concern. I realize it is most annoying, but I am pretty well satisfied that the end is in sight. Conditions in the Islands today are so peculiar that it is inadvisable to plan any definite campaign or line of action. I am perfectly satisfied that the gentleman whom you mention can never reach you or touch you sufficiently to do you any real harm. I am perfectly willing to match your honesty of purpose and act, and your astuteness against any attempts your enemies may make.

Your taking a long leave of absence from Manila just at this stage of the game would encourage these people and give them the very opportunity they may be seeking. If you sit tight and keep on the way you have been doing, there is nothing to fear and sooner or later the cause of right will triumph.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) H. H. Bandholtz,
Director.

[EXHIBIT I]

"CABLENEWS-AMERICAN," May 7, 1912.

CONFIDENCE NOT RESTORED.

(Editorial)

There are two important legal facts that seem to have been established by the police investigation. One of these is that there is no law against bribery in the islands and the second is that there is no punishment in the islands for an official in the government service accepting "presents" for refraining from performing the duties of his office. It is now nearly a year since this remarkable state of affairs was disclosed.

Referring to the findings of the police investigation we note the reviewing authority, the acting governor general, bases his summary discrediting of his investigating committee on the findings of the court in so much of the affair as got into the courts. Turning to the court we find, if we read correctly the reasoning of the judge, that when a police official accepts money to refrain from arresting or interfering with individuals engaged in the commission of crimes and misdemeanors, that official is not accepting a bribe but merely a "gift" and that there is nothing in the law that permits the court to punish the official for such an act. This is one of the states of affairs that the public is asked to accept and be thankful for and in addition to give its confidence to the police department under the new calcimine. There is one more aspect of the court's action in the police cases, namely. its refusal to convict an official accused of accepting money for refraining from doing his duty, on the testimony of the man who claims to have given the money. If there could be a completer protection to criminals than that offered in these doctrines enunciated by the court on whose decisions the reviewing authority relies, the writer cannot imagine it.

The fact is the public takes no stock in these legal doctrines nor in the general outcome of the police investigations. Confidence has not been restored nor can any amount of official exhorting restore it. The fact of the matter is the public has more confidence in the committee that conducted the investigation than it has in either the doctrine of the court or in the judgment of the reviewing authority that has turned down the findings of the committee. Indeed the investigation has but served to convince the public that the thing they but suspected before is absolutely true. The rottenness has been exposed to public view and then carefully covered with a coat of whitewash. That sort of thing has not restored confidence and never can. Were this in the United States where the "recall" could be applied to this affair, there would be some "recalling" that would leave a clean slate.

CABLENEWS-AMERICAN, May 15, 1912.

THE SYLLABUS OF THE POLICE CASE.

(Editorial)

Regardless of the guilt or innocence of the men involved in the police investigation the case has established certain rules of procedure which as precedents are worthy of note and cannot be ignored. A syllabus of the case presents some principles that are startling for their newsness and variance with all established rules of procedure. Passing over the facts that no real steps were taken to make the investigation until the Free Press forced the government's hand by threatening to publish the Green affidavits, and the talk of a mass meeting of protest had become so common as to remind one of the days preceding the famous flag meeting, we come to the first principle of procedure which might be formulated like this: an official accused of wrongdoing, incompetence, or malfeasance in office shall not be suspended from the exercise of his duties during the progress of the investigation, but all the books, documents and personnel of his office shall continue to be under his control and orders as against the investigating authority.

If the investigating authority be an official of rank and experience, as the solicitor general or director of constabulary, and he reports adversely to the official under investigation, his report shall then be referred to an investigating officer inferior in rank, such as a chief clerk in the prosecuting attorney's office or a law clerk in some bureau, for review. It is also proper that the investigating authority of inferior rank shall be seeking promotion at the hands of some of those under investigation or interested in its outcome; as witness Mr. DuFresne, since the investigation made fourth assistant prosecuting attorney by the vote of Mr. McDonnell, who, while not originally under investigation, was certainly deeply concerned in the outcome and really included in the investigation by the final decision of the governor general and to the extent of writing a defense; or Mr. Weisenhagen, within the last ten days made law clerk of the executive bureau under Mr. Thomas Cary Welch who, although not a police officer, was concerned in the investigation to the extent of requiring an exoneration and a defense.

It is not only proper to ignore and reject the report and recommendations of the senior investigating authority, the solicitor general, and director of constabulary for the findings of their inferiors in office, the clerks, in so far as the report of the former is covered by that of the latter, but it is the correct procedure to reject the report of a committee investigating administratively.

We recommend that the Philippine Law Review publish a carefully prepared syllabus of the points of law established by the case. It might be styled: Rules of Procedure in Cases in which a Whitewash Has Been Determined upon in Advance.

For the proceedings in this case could scarcely have been different had the end been determined upon at the beginning.

[EXHIBIT A1]

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Baguio, April 28, 1913.

Sir:

It is my intention to make available the sum of ₱150,000.00 which is to be used in opening and maintaining 1,000 new primary schools, at the rate of ₱300.00 per school per year, which will carry them for the first six months of the next school year, at which time the Legislature will have convened and will be asked to provide funds for the future maintenance of the schools.

I have this day made available ₱20,000.00 for the period from June 9, to June 30, 1913, inclusive, and shall, if it be in my power when the allotments are made for the fiscal year 1914, make available the balance of the ₱150,000.00.

I desire that particular emphasis be laid upon primary instruction, that other things be sacrificed in the future before primary schools are closed, that plans be made to prepare for the opening of 500 additional schools for the school year beginning June, 1914, and another 500 for the school year beginning June, 1915, thus bringing up the additional number of schools to 2,000 and providing for 200,000 additional children.

I pledge to the Bureau of Education my support for this policy, and, so long as I am in office, I will use every effort to persuade the Legislature to make avilable the necessary funds for this amount of additional primary instruction.

Very respectfully,

(Sgd.) W. Cameron Forbes
Governor-General.

Mr. Frank R. White
Director of Education

[EXHIBIT B1]

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, EXECUTIVE ORDER.

Manila, August 8, 1912.

Executive Order)
No. 44.)

Athough English is the official language of all branches of the Government of the Philippine Islands except the courts, it has come to the attention of the Chief Executive that Spanish is used to an extent in the transaction of Government business particularly in the provinces. Frequent complaints have been received from young men who have been educated in the public schools of the Islands that the Government has taught them English and then in a measure disqualified them from serving it, because the language in which the official business of their municipality or province is conducted is Spanish. It is believed that the acquirement of a common language is one of the prerequisites to a more complete participation in the Government on the part of Filipinos, and that no other language than English is within the reach of all the people. It is not thought, however, that the time has yet arrived when it would be proper to make a definite rule, that all official business must be conducted in one language. A few years may elapse before this event, but every effort must be made to aid the people to attain to the height of their aspirations. To this end and in fairness to the generation which is now being graduated from our public schools it is hereby required of officers and employees under the administrative control of the Chief Executive or any of the executive departments:

(1) That whenever possible the minutes of the meetings of provincial boards and municipal councils be kept in English.

(2) That all official correspondence, whether to Government officials or to private individuals, be written in English.

(3) That in making appointments or promotions in the service preference be given to persons having a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable them to carry on correspondence in English.

It is not desired to make these requirements absolute; therefore, in cases where it is not practicable to carry them out, officers will make representation of the facts to the Executive Secretary who is empowered in his discretion to modify the rule in such case; but officials are hereby informed that the thoroughness and earnestness with which these requirements are carried out will be given great weight in determining the efficiency and adaptability of the officials concerned.

NEWTON W. GILBERT,
Acting Governor-General

[EXHIBIT C]

THIRD PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE,) (A. B.
Special Session of 1913.) (No. 286.
[No. 2239.]

AN ACT AMENDING SECTION TWELVE OF ACT NUMBERED ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY, AS AMENDED, BY PROVID-

ING THAT UNTIL JANUARY FIRST, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY, BOTH ENGLISH AND SPANISH SHALL BE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

By authority of the United States, be it enacted by the Philippine Legislature, that:

Section 1. Section twelve of Act Numbered One hundred and ninety, as amended, is hereby further amended so as to read as follows:

"Section 12. **Official language.**—Until otherwise provided by the Philippine Legislature, the official language of all courts and their records shall be the English language; **Provided,** That until January first, nineteen hundred and twenty, Spanish shall be also an official language of the courts and their records; that the Supreme Court, any Court of First Instance, the Court of Land Registration, any justice of the peace court, the municipal court, or any other court of similar jurisdiction which may hereafter be established, may order its records to be made in either English or Spanish as it may deem best for the public convenience and the interests of the parties; and that any party or his counsel may examine witnesses and make oral argument in English or Spanish, which shall then and there be interpreted into the other language by a court interpreter whenever the other party or his counsel does not understand the language in which the examination or argument is made, and so request, and may submit any petition, motion, pleading, brief, document or evidence either in English or Spanish without an accompanying translation into the other language: **Provided, however,** That in cases in which all the parties or counsel stipulate in writing, or the accused in a criminal action requests, the language used in the record shall be in accordance with such stipulation or request; and that proceedings in justice of the peace courts shall be in the Spanish language unless the justice speaks English and there is an official interpreter or all the parties or their counsel speak English."

Section 2. This Act shall be retroactive and take effect as of January first, nineteen hundred and thirteen, and all records, judgments, orders and proceedings which, if this Act had not been passed, would have been null and void, are hereby ratified and confirmed.

Enacted, February 11, 1913.

[EXHIBIT E]

The Government of the Philippine Islands
Department of Commerce and Police
Manila, P.I.

May 17th, 1913.

My dear Mr. Ford:—

The original cost of the Benguet Road was ₱3,923,694.10.. The length of the road as originally constructed was about 44 or 45 kilometers. Of the original Benguet Road, between eleven and twelve kilometers in the Province of Pangasinan are now incorporated in the first class road system of that province and no longer known as the Benguet Road.

The road was opened to traffic the latter part of fiscal year 1905. Since that time its cost by fiscal years and up to March 1st, 1913, has been the following:

Fiscal Year	1906	—	₱ 128,879.24
	1907	—	84,916.55
	1908	—	164,363.65
	1909	—	299,947.19
	1910	—	358,685.82
	1911	—	166,528,42
	1912	—	253,471.58
Juy 1, 1912 to Feb. 28,	1913	—	128,075.67
			₱1,584,868.12

These figures include not only maintenance, but betterments, including five steel bridges, the replacing of all original bridges and culverts on the road (except a portion of concrete and masonry ones) with more substantial bridges, the metalling of the upper portion of the road from the top of the Zigzag to Baguio and general widening and improving of the road which is taking place to enable it to sustain the enormous traffic of today. The above figures include all repairs and reconstruction due to the destructive typhoons of 1908, 1909 and 1911.

The Benguet Road has then cost of ₱5,508,562,22 to date including original construction, maintenance, improvements and reconstruction after the big typhoons. The greater part of the road lies at the bottom of a box canyon in a country of unstable geological formation and subject to excessive rainfall which has reached 46 inches in 24 hours and 88 inches in 96 hours in 4 days. The maintenance of the road has, therefore, been difficult and costly. The location of the road in the Bued canyon was a great blunder but the road having been completed on the route it has been necessary to maintain it there.

The above figures represent the total cost of the road with the exception of a certain amount of equipment in use on the road which is carried as Bureau of Public Works property and is not charged against the Benguet Road until worn out. Such items are picks, shovels and other road making tools and implements, carts, etc. The amount of equipment held in this way is not very large, and, as stated, is charged into the maintenance of the road as fast as worn out.

Respectfully,

Director of Public Works.

Mr. Henry Ford,
Manila, P. I.

(Note: The peso is equivalent to fifty cents, United States currency)

[EXHIBIT F]

(Translation)

"La VANGUARDIA," Tuesday, December 13, 1910.

AN OMINOUS REMINISCENCE.

(Editorial)

Among the great anomalies found in the fundamental legislation which the little group of legislators, to whom America confided the elaboration of a colonial regime with democratic leanings during moments of great agitation and hurry, the one most opposed to the principles to which it was endeavored to adjust the system of government being instituted, consists in the power reserved to the executive-legislative commission to vote the budgets for the expenses of the regions inhabited by Non-Christian tribes. The absorbing and centralizing absolutism which ruled before the Philippine Bill took full effect, when the Commission grasped the imperial sceptre, passing laws, many of them unfair, and disposing of the Insular fund with entire liberty and without having the acquiescence of the taxpaying public, when the essential principle, by virtue of which the impositions of taxes without the sanction of popular representatives was execrated as a vexation of tyranny, was excluded from the governmental policy, that absolutism, we say, has left an ominous reminiscence in that exclusive power which the Commission still enjoys to-day over the Non-Christian tribes to the evident injury of the interests of the country and in open opposition to fundamental doctrines.

The Philippine Bill denies the Assembly all intervention in the government and administration of those regions, it is true, but it is also true that after remaining silent respecting so important a point as the budgets and establishing the exclusive right of the Commission over the Non-Christians, it provides that the general budgets shall be passed by the Legislature and that no money shall be removed from the Insular Treasury except by virtue of the law.

Thus we have the truly unheard-of case of the Commission continuing to dispose of funds belonging to the Christian population and which are under the custody and responsibility of the two Houses in common. And the unaccustomed case also occurs that the Executive in consequence of a fiction skilfully prepared by the government, has been employing the sanction, unforeseen and wrested from the Assembly by surprise, to expend, according to his own caprice, funds voted by the popular house and destined to very different ends from those in which they were expended.

The Commission has just destined another ₱100,000.00 to the Benguet Road. If it does not lay its hands on the whole Insular treasure to mis-spend it on the bureaucratic pomps of Baguio it is because the exercise of power has not yet hardened its magnanimous heart. One delegate was right in affirming that the Commission may, if it wishes, "appropriate" a million pesos instead of a hundred thousand pesos for the accommodation and happiness of American public employees. According to good logic, according to the law of conscience, the Commission cannot continue to keep that power with which it believes itself to be invested. The Philippine Bill does not grant that tyrannical, ominous, execrable power either in spirit or letter. At most it may be conceded that there is an omission in that law, unless the Legislature acted with a double intention and in bad faith. But indeed, that cannot living in the times of King George. We are living in the twentieth century.

(Translation)

"LA DEMOCRACIA," Tuesday, December 13, 1910.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION.

(Editorial)

Upon the constitution of the Philippine Assembly the Commission was invested with the power to legislate alone without the Assembly's consent for the so-called non-Christian provinces. That is what the Philippine Bill lays down and in the exercise of that faculty the Commission has been disposing of the public treasure to make improvements in those provinces, to the extreme of spending considerable sums, such as those expended on the Benguet Road.

Evidently some of our delegates have noticed this anomaly and have raised the question of the legality of the action of the Commission in disposing of the Insular treasure and expending it in the non-christian provinces. They say, "The Commission has just appropriated ₱100,000.00 of the Insular funds, collected almost entirely from the Christian taxpayers, for the repair of the Benguet Road, without the approval of the Philippine Assembly. If the Commission were really authorized to act thus, the genuine representatives of the Christian people, from whom comes nearly all of the money of the Insular Treasury, would be deprived of all legal recourse to prevent the Commission appropriating from the public treasury for the non-christian provinces not only ₱100,000.00 but millions of pesos, because such appropriation would be just as legal in the latter case as in the former."

For our part we are of the opinion that the practice followed by the Commission is evidently unjust and absurd, inasmuch as it implies the inconceivable power iniquitously to despoil the Christian population for the benefit of the non-christian tribes, and we can in no way suppose that the American Congress, in passing the Philippine Bill, even thought of investing the Commission with such power, both odious and arbitrary. The power granted the Commission in that bill to legislate alone for the non-christian provinces without the consent of the Lower House does not carry with it the right to dispose, without the consent of the Lower House, of the money of christian provinces, which, from the fact of being governed by the Philippine Legislature, have a right to have their money and all their property under the control of this body and in no manner under the exclusive control of the Commission.

For the very reason that the American Congress established two distinct governments, one for the Christian provinces, and the other for the non-christian provinces, one of which acts independently of the other, we believe it highly necessary to maintain a complete separation between the funds or resources of each region, and that the improvement or progress of the non-christian provinces, should be effected by means of their own resources, if the Commission wishes to act alone without considering the Lower House, which represents the Christian Provinces, and whose duty it is to defend their interests.

We are not unaware that the non-christian provinces are poor in resources needed to attend properly to their own necessities and that it is, therefore, necessary to go to the funds of the Christian provinces, but we believe that in this case it is absolutely necessary to request the consent of the Lower House, because it is a question of using what belongs to the Christian provinces, governed not only by the Commission but by both houses.

There would be no question if the Commission, in acting without the Philippine Assembly, were to appropriate only money coming from the non-christian provinces, then it would be entirely legal and our delegates would never attempt to intervene in such appropriation.

For the reason stated it is urgently necessary to take this matter before the American Congress as soon as possible in order to end this anomalous condition.

PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC (ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA) — HONGKONG, April 15, 1913.

HOW THE PHILIPPINES ARE GOVERNED!

A Manila paper is right to say the government of the Philippines is one of the most wonderful institutions on the face of the globe. At times, no one knows where it is nor in what it consists, and yet it is said that all hours this government is preparing the people in the complicated art of governing itself.

This contemporary says that, recently, a member of the CLEVELAND party, asked his guide, who has been telling him of the wonderful achievement brought about by the present regime where the government and those managing the present situation are. Naturally, this query received no answer. Of course, the guide knew that the government is now in Baguio. He did not ignore the fact, however, that our prominent executives are very much inclined to leave Baguio for the most trivial reason, and forget all about the junketing trips which our high government officials are making every moment. The guide, knowing that if he said the government is now in Baguio, the member of the CLEVELAND party might go there and only fail to find our prominent executives, responded: "Our government is so perfect that, under its own sustaining influence, progress and work do not stop even if all persons having charge thereof disappear."

Modesty refrained the CLEVELAND tourist from saying that since "the government of the Philippine Islands is so perfect that, under its own sustaining influence, progress and work do not stop even if all the persons having charge thereof disappear," Americans might as well quit the islands immediately.

But this is not all. THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC has recently been acquainted with an interesting case concerning a Filipino resident in Hongkong, who wanted the official copy of a document which is kept in the archives of the Executive Bureau. In accordance with the law, any person can obtain copies of any public document. Our Filipino friend here in Hongkong instructed a Manila lawyer to get him a copy of the document he wanted, but the lawyer answered that "it is now impossible to obtain copies of the document because the government is in Baguio and will not be back to Manila till the rainy season."

This is the way the Imperialists govern the Philippines. For almost six months, our government officials stay among the delicious pine-clad Baguio hills, playing polo and other sports. And when they return to Manila, they either make pleasure trips on board of coast-guarding steamers or attend to private business.

[EXHIBIT G]

From "EL BALUARTE," Cavite, March 11, 1911.

AN ELOQUENT REALITY.

(Editorial)

We are not going to say anything new. The controversy is old and dates from the very day when through **providential designs,** the Americans came to the Philippines to redeem us from slavery, ignorance, foolishness, and from all the miseries belonging to submitted people.

Neither is the true value of those **providential designs** — which were nothing more than the entering cry with which American imperialists sought from the first day to halucinate us the better to take root in the country — new to us.

It is not then strange that neither they nor we have gained anything in eleven years of living together. We are the same as the first day, and if any difference can be found between the present situation and the situation of a decade ago, that difference is merely that the situation of today is still more violent because of the frank and resolute transformation of the pretended redeemers of the past into the declared dominators of the present.

The latter are no longer cautious about showing their true designs and for some time past they have showed themselves without that cloak of dissimulation and tolerance with which they previously clothed their thoughts and purposes.

Ends and means conceived by American individuals and corporations show their tendency clearly and the frank suggestions and categorical petitions, contrary to the interests and aspirations of the Filipinos, spring from everywhere insistently and overwhelmingly.

The events which have been occurring in the country for sometime back and in which American authorities, corporations and individuals have played an important part are just so many manifestations of that kind of reaction which reigning imperialism is undergoing.

Reaction, did we say? Undoubtedly, for that imperialism, previously timid and shy, now shows itself unembarrassed.

[EXHIBIT H]

Third Philippine Legislature)
)
First Session.)

ASSEMBLY CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 2.

December 2, 1912.

Introduced by the Committee on Appropriations.
December 7, 1912.
Passed by the Assembly.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

ESTABLISHING COMMON RULES FOR THE DRAFTING OF THE APPROPRIATION ACT FOR THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF THE PRESENT FISCAL YEAR AND THE APPROPRIATION ACT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN.

Whereas it is necessary to establish common rules which are to serve both Houses of the Legislature as norms in the drafting, and passage of the appropriations act would certainly fa- the principal causes of the failure of the Appropriation Act in prior years was principally due to the absence of a previous understanding between the Commission and the Assembly regarding certain principles or rules that ought to be fixed jointly;

Whereas the establishment of these principles or common rules for the observance of both Houses in the preparation, drafting, and passage of the appropriations [act] would certainly facilitate the work of each House, in the first place, and a better understanding between both Houses, subsequently, as, if such principles or rules are previously adopted, all that would be left to be done would be the mere assignment of sums to each bureau or office;

Whereas it is necessary and suitable, furthermore, for the country that the appropriations [act] in force during each fiscal year be duly approved by both Houses of the Legislature: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Philippine Assembly, the Philippine Commission concurring, That for the preparation, drafting, and passage of the appropriation act appertaining to the last six months of the present fiscal year, and for the preparation, drafting, and passage of the appropriation Act appertaining to the fiscal year nineteen hundred and fourteen, the following common rules shall govern for each House:

FIRST RULE.

Every appropriation Act shall originate in the Philippine Assembly.

SECOND RULE.

Elimination of any provision of organic or reorganic character in an appropriation bill.

THIRD RULE.

Inclusion in the appropriation bill of those bureaus or offices which have revenues of their own. Upon preparing the estimate of expenses of the latter, not only the expenditures for the maintenance of said bureaus shall be included, but also the expenditures for the production of the services in which said bureaus are engaged.

FOURTH RULE.

Specification of the expense items for salaries of the personnel as well as for material: **Provided,** That for salaries of the personnel of each bureau, only those sums shall be appropriated that will actually and necessarily be expended during the six months or during the fiscal year, as the case may be.

FIFTH RULE.

Complete separation of the totals of expenditures for personnel, material, and contingent expenses of each office or bureau: **Provided,** That the expenditures so assigned can not be disbursed for a different purpose than that which appears in the appropriation Act.

SIXTH RULE.

All the revenues of each office or bureau must be deposited in the Insular Treasury to be placed with the general funds.

SEVENTH RULE.

Elimination from the appropriation Act of any appropriation of a permanent character.

EIGHTH RULE.

Inclusion in the appropriation Act, or complete exclusion therefrom, for a special act, of all the expenditures relative to public works of permanent character.

NINTH RULE.

Complete and separate specification of the sum necessary for the commutation and payment of accrued leaves of absence, travel expenses, transportation, etc.: Provided, That the sum appropriated for this purpose cannot be destined for other purposes.

TENTH RULE.

All sums not expended at the end of the fiscal year shall in fact revert to the Insular Treasury and again be placed with the general funds.

Adopted,

Third Philippine Legislature)
First Session.) (Report No.60)

PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

Subject: A.C.R. # 2
Submitted, Dec. 18, 1912.

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE.

(To accompany A. C. R. 2.)

Mr. President:

Your Committee on Appropriations
, to which was referred on

December 12, 1912, Assembly Concurrent Resolution #2, entitled: "Concurrent Resolution establishing common rules for the drafting of the appropriation Act for the last six months of the present fiscal year and the appropriation Act for the fiscal year nineteen hundred and fourteen,"

has examined the same, and has the honor to report it back to the Commission with the following recommendation, viz:

That the resolution be adopted with the following amendment:

Strike out the first rule.

Amend the third rule to read as follows:

"Rule I. Elimination of legislation of permanent character from appropriation bills."

Amend the third rule to read as follows:

"Rule II. Inclusion in the appropriation bill of those bureaus or offices which have revenues of their own."

Amend the fourth rule to read as follows:

"Rule III. Separation of the amount allowed for salaries and wages from funds allowed for contingent expenses."

Strike out the fifth rule.

Amend the sixth rule to read as follows:

"Rule IV. All the receipts of each office or bureau must be deposited in the Insular Treasury to the credit of the current account of the office or bureau concerned, as is now provided by law."

Change the seventh rule to Rule V.

Amend the eighth rule to read as follows:

"Rule VI. Inclusion in the appropriation Act or complete exclusion therefrom to be included in a special appropriation Act for the Bureau of Public Works of all the expenditures relative to public works or permanent improvements."

Amend the tenth rule to read as follows:

"Rule VII. All sums not expended and for which obligation has not been incurred at the end of the fiscal year shall revert to the Insular Treasury and again be placed with general funds."

Amend the preamble as follows:

Strike out of the first paragraph the following: "and it is believed that one of the principal causes of the failure of the appropriation Act in prior years was principally due to the absence of a previous understanding between the Commission and the Assembly regarding certain principles or rules that ought to be fixed jointly."

Strike out of the second paragraph the following: "as if such principles or rules are previously adopted, all that would be left to be done would be the mere assignment of sums to each bureau or office."

Respectfully submitted,

GREGORIO ARANETA,

DEAN C. WORCESTER,

JOSE R. DE LUZURIAGA,

FRANK A. BRANAGAN,

Committee on Appropriations.

To the Honorable,
The President of the Philippine Commission.

[EXHIBIT I]

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Baguio, May 12, 1913.

Dear Mr. Ford:

You asked me a few days ago my opinion in regard to the present political status of the Islands, and at the same time you told me that you had not been able to find people who were satisfied with the present arrangement. Where there are so many kinds of people having so many diverse ideas as to what the ultimate arrangement ought to be, it seems to me it is the reason for the dissatisfaction which undoubtedly exists rather than the fact of the dissatisfaction that should be taken into consideration. If these people of diverse points of view are dissatisfied for different reasons, perhaps the present arrangement is a happy mean that is less unsatisfactory to the community as a whole than any of the extremes would be. Personally, I do not consider the present system entirely satisfactory and I see several ways in which it could be bettered, although it is an entirely workable one, and I claim that the burden of proof lies upon anybody who proposes to make a change in view of the progress and unquestioned success which we have had in dealing with the complicated and difficult situation. I am going to make a number of suggestions of things which I think would better the situation but I do not pledge myself that I would vote for them all, as some of them may be politically unwise at home, and I am going to make some other suggestions of things which I do not think would hurt the situation and which may, for political reasons, and perhaps for their effect at home, be advisable. I do not keep in touch with the turn of political affairs at home very closely and do not know how certain things would result.

In the first place, in its very name, this Government is set forth as being a temporary one. The Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, which contains our bill of rights and the organization of the present government, starts out by declaring that it is establishing a temporory form of government. This would be objectionable except for one thing, and that is that perhaps a temporary form of government may be better for the present than a more permanent one, as the economic relations between the two countries have not yet developed to a point where we can get an ultimate line on their magnitude and nature, and it has always been my belief that the political relationship should follow and conform to the economic necessities and that perhaps it is better, in view of the undoubted prosperous development of the country and the remarkable strides which business and trade are making, to wait until we see the turn of things and how far they are likely to lead us before we undertake to determine the political relations between the two countries whose economic relations are a matter of conjecture.

Moreover, from a political and social point of view, I can't believe that the Philippines are yet in a position to declare themselves or to form an intelligent opinion as to their own future. Much more unity is necessary than people can have with so many languages and such a great proportion of illiteracy as now prevail before an intelligent public opinion can be correctly formed and expressed.

Moreover, I feel that these people shall have had to outgrow the old way of things and have been accustomed to the new for a longer period of time than has elapsed since democratic principles were established in the Islands before the people can understand them and interpret them. The mind of the "illustrado" or upper class person reverts naturally to the days of privilege. The idea of equality among men is, more or less, abhorrent to him, and this must be outgrown before we can have any hope that democratic principles will stand a ghost of a chance, were the democratic officers to be removed.

Thus, I am not at all sure that the present makeshift had not better continue until we really know more definitely what is wanted than to establish something in the hopes that it would be more permanent and yet which might prove after all to have been another makeshift.

The things which I think are most necessary to improve the situation here are as follows:

1. The establishment and maintenance of some governmental organ printed for the present in Spanish but with an English sheet and a sheet written in the native dialects which shall have the duty of molding public opinion along the lines of the effort of the American people in the Philippine Islands; teaching the principles of democracy; explaining the reasons for each action of the Government; answering the criticisms of the Government to be found in other newspapers;

and calculated to correct misimpressions and misinterpretations of what the Government is doing.

2. Granting to this Government the power to borrow money up to a reasonable amount which shall bear a fixed proportion to the annual income of the Government. We are trying to build a nation here. We can do it faster with money than without. The last power that was given us was granted in the year 1905, eight years ago, and the amount was then limited to $5,000,000, U. S. Currency. Since that time, although requested to do so for the past four years, Congress has failed to grant additional money although bills providing for such increase have passed the Senate from time to time. The most necessary and immediate use for money is the development of the port works in the City of Manila; to enable rails to get alongside of deep water; to enable us to build enough wharves to handle the whole of the merchandise handled by the shipping instead of only the import trade; to put in labor saving and coal handling devices in our warehouses and at the water front; for providing a new method of crossing the Pasig River near its mouth, probably by a lift bridge. At the present time I am negotiating with the owners of the electric and steam railroads in the hopes of getting them to organize a terminal company to take over this work. Even if such a law were passed by Congress, I am not sure that I could get it approved by the Assembly. They look with some doubt upon the expenditure of such large sums of money to the improvement of a city that has only two representatives out of eighty-one and they are apt to insist upon the dissipation of the public money for the improvement of many ports so that it is probable only a portion of the money could be obtained for Manila, certainly not enough to do all this work at once, which would involve several millions of dollars. The work at the other ports is also important. Iloilo needs additional port works badly, particularly for deep water vessels near the mouth, and the improvement of other ports is a matter of urgent necessity, particularly the construction of wharves to cheapen the cost of handling at the lesser ports and I am even in favor of the Government going to the expense of owning warehouses at the wharf side at lesser ports and taking goods on consignment so as to protect the small producer in the interior from the extortions of the merchants at the seaside. These merchants have made a point of taking too much and have really choked trade very generally. The stimulus to industry produced by fair treatment on the part of the middle men and

buyers, such as has been forced along the line of the railroad, is simply marvelous, and the production comes up with leaps and bounds in response to the chance for profits.

3. I believe control of our local customs, with limitations preventing our placing any customs upon goods from the United States, would be advantageous, under conditions which might arise. I have no great complaint, however, against the present system in view of our experiences to date.

4. While believing that the situation could have been better handled had the Assembly been postponed for a few years, I should not personally be favorable to the dissolution of that body unless they put themselves flagrantly in the wrong in matters involving American sovereignty, the dignity of the sovereign country, or the welfare of their own people, in which case I should approve a suspension of their functions for a certain number of years rather than a total abolition of the body. Although costly and cumbersome, it serves a useful purpose, and I have been willing and should continue to be willing, were I to remain here as Governor-General, to undergo all the annoyances and trouble incident to the Assembly for the sake of the additional touch it gives you with the people and for the educational value it has upon the proper development of the race and the check which it exercises over the arbitrary uses of power on the part of the Americans in control. I consider that our record of cooperative legislation is remarkable. I doubt if any President of the United States that you can cite in the past forty years has as great a record of achievement of constructive legislation of the things asked for in their messages as have the Governors-General in the Philippine Islands. While unfortunately we have not been able to agree on appropriations for current expenses, practically every other measure of importance has been agreed to. Each year at least one of the big constructive laws sought has been approved and there has usually been a spirit of give and take and, I believe, of harmony as between the two bodies. I believe it would be wise to select for Commissioners men who have shown aptitude in dealing with the natives, who would get in close touch with them and who would come through with important legislative enactments.

5. I should reorganize the existing order of the bureaus of the Government and the departments and get a more logical and intelligent arrangement. I should take all executive bureaus from under the direct control of the Governor-General and give him a member

of the Commission as Secretary of the Executive Department who would have all those bureaus which have general supervision over the work of other bureaus, and the Constabulary, namely the Executive Bureau, the Bureaus of Audits and of Civil Service. The Department of the Interior, of Public Works, of Finance and Commerce, and of Justice, would each be allotted its proportion of functions. Under Act No. 1859, the Governor-General has the right to rearrange bureaus and rename departments; under Act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, the President has the right to create a new department. Taken jointly, the two would have the power, with the approval of the President, to make the necessary changes. I have very definite ideas as to just what bureaus should go in each department, how the bureaus should be organized and what they should do, but it exceeds the scope of this letter.

6. The Scouts and Constabulary could very properly be combined into one organization and this could be done with advantage to the service and a saving of $1,000,000 a year to the Government of the United States, under the plan elaborated by General Bandholtz and Colonel Harbord. If this organization were to be under the direct orders of the Governor-General, it would mean that the United States was contributing something toward the civil support of the Government here, which it is not doing now. It would be inadvisable to do this while there was any question in the platform of either party of the withdrawal of the United States from the Islands on account of their cost because the argument that we are civilly self supporting is a valuable asset. Were the Army to report to the Governor-General, as General Bell thinks it ought to do, it might be well to give the Commanding General a voice in the Commission. This has been suggested. It would be all right with the present Commanding General, but the objection to this lies in the fact that the Governor-General could not choose his military advisor and, owing to differences in point of view of training, he might prove to be an unharmonious element. For the past four years I don't remember a single unpleasant word to have passed between Commissioners around the board. Votes have been usually unanimous. The line between Americans and Filipinos has almost never been drawn; I can think of only three or four instances in which differences in which the race took side occurred and usually these have not been over vital matters or ones which stirred the feelings of the Commissioners very deeply.

The things which it might be politically expedient to do but which, in my judgment, would be important for their effect at home rather than because they would improve the situation here, are:

1. The separation of the executive and legislative functions, except perhaps to the extent of allowing the Vice Governor to be President of a Senate. In that case the Governor-General should have the veto power.

2. The granting to the Filipinos of a constitution to become effective when accepted by them, which would contain certain concessions to them in order to make it attractive for them to accept and which would result in the Philippines being governed with the consent of the Government. They could, at the same time, adopt the report of the Code Committee so that we could get a complete codified system of law accepted by the people and they could, at the same time, accept all laws imposing taxes, so that the taxes would be imposed with the consent of the Government. This could be safely done if one cardinal and fundamental principle was observed, and that is that the United States retained a strong central control over the highest executive, legislative and judicial bodies. In other words, there should be retained a senate, of which one-half were appointed, the Vice Governor to cast the deciding vote; a majority of one American should be retained in the Supreme Court; the Governor-General and the heads of executive departments should be mainly Americans. I should say in passing that the Code Committee first convened in March, 1910, and has five years in which to complete its labors, while there is an authorization of law by which the Governor-General may give it an additional year in case it fails to complete its labors at that time. It will thus be seen that in somewhere between two and three years the Code Committee could make its report, at which time the change could take place.

3. I should see no objection to the Philippine Islands, under these circumstances, having their own flag, that is to say, the Stars and Stripes with some distinctive device such as is customary in English Crown colonies. The Australian Union Jack has the Southern Cross in it. Something that would still be the United States flag and show the degree of sovereignty and yet slightly different in point of view of its emblems, would seem to me to be no more damaging from point of view of nationality than having separate postage stamps. It might be advisable — I don't say that it would be;

4. The undertaking by the United States, if the question of the status of the Islands were once solved, of the matter of education on a large scale in order to earlier fit the Filipinos for citizenship; say an appropriation of $1,000,000 a year, or $2,000,000 a year, for ten years, for educational purposes.

Very respectfully yours,

W. CAMERON FORBES
Governor-General.

Henry J. Ford, Esq.,
Hotel Pines,
Baguio.

MEMORANDUM IN REGARD TO THE FAILURE OF THE TWO HOUSES OF THE LEGISLATURE TO AGREE ON APPROPRIATION BIIL.

In February, 1911, the date of the first failure, up to the last few days of the session, it looked as though no more trouble were to be incurred in the matter of the appropriation bill than had occurred previously. The Committee on Appropriations of the Assembly had prepared a reasonable bill, proposing a reasonable reduction in appropriations, but in view of the sharply increased revenues and the demand for additional expenditures in various lines, the Commission wanted a moderate increase in the appropriations for current expenses to meet the increased needs of the Government. The bill of the Appropriation Committee of the Assembly, composed of the chairmen of all other committees, which was the official bill of the dominant party would have met no opposition on the part of the Commission. The Assembly, however, rejected the report of the Appropriation Committee, and passed a drastic measure increasing the appropriation for the Assembly, already sufficiently large, by the sum of ₱25,000 and decreasing the appropriations for other bureaus a total of two millions of pesos. This law was passed only the last day of the session, and, as the Commission could not agree to so drastic a course at that time, the bill failed of passage. It is to be noted that the law as passed by the Assembly carried no reduction of salaries of American Commissioners or of the Governor-General, as stated by Jones on the floor of Congress in his speech of January 28, 1913.

In October of the ensuing year, just as the Legislature was meeting, the undersigned was taken sick with inflammation of the kidneys, and for months was unable to work. Beginning early in January, he broke down repeatedly in the effort to keep abreast of the difficult duties of Governor-General, and finally left the Islands with shattered health on March fifteenth. In order to save himself as much possible, he turned over the direction of all appropriation matters to Governor Gilbert, and accordingly was not present at the interviews which took place, nor was a member of the Conference Committee of the Assembly and Commission which failed to agree in the matter of appropriations. The Assembly appropriation bill was more radical than the one of the year before. It provided that all receipts from all sources be deposited in the general fund, thus depriving the bureaus of the opportunity of using their earnings to pay part of their expenses. In spite of this change, total appropriations for the bureaus were not increased to meet the decrease in their appropriations caused by the fact that they were not to be allowed to use their revenues, the total amount "saved" by this process reaching three and a half million pesos, or enough to have practically closed up the work of the Bureau of Posts and many other bureaus of the Government. This bill came up for passage on February 1, 1912.

On December 7, 1912, the Assembly passed a Concurrent Resolution, in which they asked the concurrence of the Commission, establishing ten bases, as they called them, for the consideration of appropriations, the first one of which provided that every appropriation bill should originate with the Assembly. This condition the Commission could not agree to without abrogating one of its legislative rights, and one which it had used a number of times in the course of its dealings with the Assembly. On December eighteenth the Committee on Appropriations of the Commission reported, adopting certain of the bases suggested by the Assembly, rejecting others, and modifying the remainder. The Commission adopted the report of its Committee on December nineteenth of that year. The Assembly disagreed to this report on January eighth, and requested a conference, which failed to agree.

Upon the return of the undersigned from leave of absence on January 18, 1913, he immediately looked into the question of the probability of the passage of an appropriation bill. He was assured by the Speaker that there was a fair chance of the passage of a bill. As a matter of fact, discouraged by the failure to agree on a common basis, the Appropriation Committee of the Assembly never passed any bill, none was referred to the House and the Assembly never voted on an appropriation bill. The Commission, according to its custom, after waiting in vain for an appropriation bill from the Assembly, in order not to be delinquent in its own duties, passed an appropriation bill and sent in down on February 1, 1913. This bill was rejected by the Assembly on the ground that to originate the appropriation bill was an exclusive privilege of their house. When the regular session ended, without any appropriation bill for current expenses having been passed by the Assembly and sent up, the undersigned, in conference with the Speaker, requested that the latter appoint a committee of the Assembly to confer on the matter of appropriations and see if an agreement could not be reached. The Speaker named Deputy Adriatico, Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, Deputy Singson, President of the Progresista Party, and Representatives Apacible, Corpus and Guevara, who met in the office of the undersigned in a spirit of great desire to be cooperative, and presently, after calling in Mr. Carpenter, the Executive Secretary, to be sure that the plan proposed was of practical working, the undersigned reached an agreement with them. It was agreed that in those cases in which the Assembly had already passed an appropriation bill in the nature of current expenses, which had not yet been approved by the Commission, that the amounts of such bill should be included in the general current expenses bill and added thereto, thus swelling the totals; that there should be a moderate addition to the total on account of the item of "unforeseen expense" to be allowed to each Bureau, and orders were immediately issued for the preparation of an appropriation bill on the basis of the new agreement. Working all night, the offices of the Government were unable to complete the bill until the last afternoon of the extra session, at which time the bill was placed in the hands of the Assembly and apparently its passage was assured. But about three o'clock in the morning a small group, dissatisfied with one feature of the bill, decided to filibuster, and thus broke up the whole combination. It is to be noted that neither in the bill which passed the Assembly and failed of passage in the spring of 1911, nor in discussions over the proposed bill in 1913 was any suggestion made of reducing the salaries of Commissioners, as stated by Mr. Jones, nor in any of the three years was the question ever raised about expenditures on Baguio or on the Benguet Road.

W. CAMERON FORBES

[EXHIBIT J]

LIST OF FILIPINO PERIODICALS

The following gives the names and party affiliations of the more important periodicals under native control in the Philippines:—

"LA DEMOCRACIA;" Progresista. Published in Manila and of general circulation throughout the Archipelago. Printed in Spanish and Tagalog.

"LA VANGUARDIA;" Liga Popular Nacionalista. Published in Manila and of general circulation throughout the Islands. Printed in Spanish and Tagalog. Tagalog edition is called "TALIBA."

"EL IDEAL;" Nacionalista, the organ of the Gran Partido Nacionalista. Published in Manila and of general circulation throughout the Islands. Printed in Spanish and Tagalog. Tagalog edition is called "ANG MITHI."

"CONSOLIDACION NACIONAL;" Nacionalista; the organ of the party of the same name. Published in Manila; not of general widespread circulation as yet. Printed in Spanish and Tagalog.

"PLARIDEL;" Malolos, Bul. Partido Nacional Progresista. Published in Malolos and circulated widely throughout Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Tarlac Provinces. Printed in Spanish and Tagalog.

"LA LUCHA;" Organ of the Iglesia Filipina. Published in Manila and sent to Ilocos Norte. Printed in Spanish and Ilocano. Circulation in Ilocos provinces only.

Some of the other papers published in Manila are "El Comercio," recognized more or less as the organ of the Spanish colony resident in the Islands. No party affiliations are noticeable in its columns.

"LIBERTAS;" printed by the Catholic Church; not of any party affiliation, has very little, if any, political influence other than through communicants.

"EL MERCANTIL;" As its name implies this paper is representative of the mercantile interests of the Spanish colony in particular and commercial circles. Has no set party affiliations. Takes very little interest in politics.

"EXCELSIOR;" printed in Spanish and Tagalog; of general circulation; tri-monthly review; party affiliation unknown, but from appearance the publication is independent; it is an illustrated paper.

"CULTURA FILIPINA;" illustrated review; no party affiliations noticeable. Published in Spanish and Tagalog.

"RENACIMIENTO-FILIPINO;" a review of wide-spread circulation; party affiliation, Liga Popular Nacionalista; published in Manila; printed in Spanish and Tagalog; illustrated.

"KIKI RIKI." Satirical weekly. Published in Manila. Printed in Spanish and Tagalog. No party affiliation noticeable. No political influence.

"EL HERALDO BICOL." Published in Legaspi, Albay, in Spanish and Bicol. Party affiliation, Nacionalista; local influence in Bicol provinces where it has a wide circulation.

"VOX POPOLI." Nacionalista; published in Legaspi, Albay; printed in Spanish and Bicol; political influence about the same as "El Heraldo Bicol;" local circulation.

"EL CAMARINENSE." Published in Nueva Caceres, Ambos Camarines; Progresista, but political views are more independent than otherwise; wide circulation in province of Camarines; printed in Spanish and Bicol.

"EL PRECURSOR." Published in Cebu; party affiliation, Nacionalista; political influence, large; printed in Spanish and Visayan; local circulation in promise of Cebu.

"EL ADALID." Published in Iloilo; party affiliation Nacionalista; wide circulation in Visayan provinces, especially the Island of Panay; political influence large; printed in Spanish and Visayan (Ilongo).

"EL TIEMPO." Published in Iloilo; party affiliation, Progresista; wide circulation throughout Visayan Islands; political influence great; printed in Spanish and Visayan.

"EL NUEVO HERALDO." Published in Iloilo; political inclination independent; circulation large; influence large with Roman Catholic element. Printed in Spanish and Visayan.

"LA VOZ DE MINDANAO." Published in Zamboanga, Mind.; party affiliation, Nacionalista; political influence great in southern Mindanao; circulation wide, extends over the greater part of Mindanao and part of the Visayas; printed in Spanish with articles in the vernacular.

In addition to the ones mentioned, there are a great number of provincial newspapers, which exercise no influence over the people except locally. There are, however, some newspapers published in the southern islands, like the "Eco de Samar and Leyte," "Ang Katarungan" (Cagayan, Mis.), and "El Atalaya de Negros," published in Bacolod, Occidental Negros, which from their geographical location, may carry more influence, but such is not thought to be the case.

[EXHIBIT K]

(From LA UNION, Zamboanga, Mindanao, P. I., April 4, 1913.)
"National Consolidation."

We have received the first number of the periodical which enters the journalistic field of Manila bearing the name used as a heading for this article; and as impartial observers we must say that the aims of this publication are indeed laudable. If our readers have not seen its worthy program, we give it herewith:

Our aims in political matters may be summarized in the following points:

First. — We desire to aid the Filipino people in maintaining an attitude of perfect calm, moderation and prudence, holding a lively faith in the Congress and people of the United States as they deliberate upon the political destiny of the Filipino people.

Second. — We shall labor for a union of all the Filipinos while we have as yet no national independence; and in case we do not attain that unity, then, without attempting to suppress the distinct character of the existing political parties, to combine their scattered forces, as also those of other Filipino bodies of whatsoever nature, securing thus an organization so collected and prepared that the movement in favor of national independence may become more effective and more methodical.

Third. — We aim to have the Jones Bill and other measures now pending in the Congress of the United States efficaciously supported and promptly approved; and to press before Congress at every opportunity all amendments to the above which the interests of the Filipino people require.

Fourth. — We shall strive to have the Filipino political parties formulate beforehand a political program of national character, offering solutions to both foreign and domestic problems, and to the administrative, financial, economic and similar questions with which the Filipino people, during their first [years?] as an independent country, will have to deal, in case the Congress and people of the United States decide to grant them their political emancipation.

———oOo———

WHAT'S THE ANSWER

By the broad Missouri river in a little country town
He was teaching when, the Civil Service Bureau ran him down.
His salary, at twenty per. included bed and board
And he "haled it" in the summer to increase his scanty hoard.

They sent a lot of papers in bulky envelope
That was labeled "War Department" so he swallowed all their dope
And, after several sleepless nights, devising ways and means,
He swore he'd be a teacher in the service, Philippines.

So a local vetrinary [sic] found him sound in wind and limb
And some long-suffering friends filled out his voucher blanks for him
The doctor, and the butcher, and the dog-catcher, and preacher
All testified his fitness as a farmer, and a teacher.

It was with no slight misgivings that he bucked the big exam
And he wished that they had given him a few weeks more to cram
But he waded through the business, filling every paper out;
Making guesses at the answers when the meaning was in doubt.

He told them, without flinching, "why the chicken crossed the road"
He told how many pounds a mule can carry at one load
He drew a life size picture of a turnip and some beans,
For 'tis such they teach the natives in the far off Philippines.

He finished on the second day, and homeward made his sneak,
And when his friends would question him his voice was rather weak
But, at the time appointed, came a letter long and fat.
It notified him he had passed and honorably, at that.

He packed his few belongings in an ancient leather trunk.
He rode to San Francisco in an iron-clad tourist's bunk,
After bidding all his relatives a lingering adieu
For railroad cars and steamboat trips were dangerous and new.

When the transport bore him westward through the famous
    Golden Gate
He heard the "chow bell" ringing, and he feared he would be late
So he bade his native land good bye in weak and quavering tones
Standing on the swooping "fantail" as they passed the Farralones.

'Twould fill a book of medium size to chronicle the trip;
To tell of all his doings in that crowded little ship.
How he won the checkers championship by beating all the bunch;
How he beat them all at dominos, and beat them all to lunch.

How, in a mood extravagant, in Honolulu bay
He threw two pennies over to Kanaka boys at play.
(We cannot vouch for the above, but those who told it, said,
'Twas the only time on record that he ever lost his head.)

He landed in Manila on a red hot April day
He scorned the carromatas that a fellow has to pay,
And "hoofed it" to the Bureau, carrying his overcoat
For the rebate business endeth when you once get off the boat.

They assigned him to a Barrio remote from human kind
Where the Carabao's the only transportation one can find.
Where they speak the English language to their teacher, in respect
And cuss at him behind his back in native dialect.

He taught them how to cipher out the distance to the moon.
He also taught them why the sun is overhead at noon.
He taught them "why a house fly can walk up a pane of glass"
And "why the blueness of the sky" and "greenness of the grass."

Such labor is rewarded in a manner swift and sure,
So, after teaching several years, the Bureau tried to lure
Him back into Manila with an increase in his pay
But he figured out that board was cheap and said he'd rather stay.

At the end of seven years he thought he'd like to see his friends
So he asks for transportation and a cent on postage spends.
They granted it, he sailed for home, remained there half a year,
Then came back to the Islands, "where the livin aint so dear."

He's teaching at the present, where he taught when first he came.
The subjects, and the students taught are older—but the same.
He's lost his old time energy, he's growing lean and lank,
And he's got the "Philippinitis," and a thousand in the bank.

And sometimes, when a newspaper is passed along his way
He reads the roasts and nasty things that mean outsiders say
About this Education, and he ponders for a spell
Then gives it up—they plan the work—they pay him—what the h—l!

(Translation)

From "EL IDEAL," Manila, Saturday, February 1, 1913.

THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR.

(Editorial)

x x x

This is, then, the critical period of exaggerations. The government certainly does not show itself niggardly in the exercise and use of exaggeration. It exaggerates in its reports and memorials, in speeches and newspapers, at banquets or funerals, wherever, in fine, governmental work can attract attention to its objective to win proselytes to the cause of domination. The work of the American government, its beneficial, civilizing, saving influence, all, everything, is prodigious, without precedents in the history of the world, inexpressible. The marvels performed by Americans in the Philippines with respect to public works, roads, railways, artesian wells, public buildings, parks, gardens, ports, canals, etc.; in sanitation, the isolation of lepers, the reduction of smallpox, tuberculosis, intestinal parasites, the bubonic plague, cholera, epizooty, etc., to their lowest terms; in intellectual, moral and physical education; in agriculture, in industries, and, in brief, in all the diverse manifestations of civilized life, are an imperishable monument to the providential mission which Americans are called to perform in this, their distant territory in the Orient.

Those are the exaggerations which the American administration in the Philippines utters daily, day after day, at all hours, at all instants, before the astonished world. They and they alone are the prodigious, magical authors of so many and many civilizing enterprises; they and they alone have effected the immense progress attained in the Philippines since the first day of American occupation.

x x x

What would become of the teacher if the people were to refrain from sending their children to school? What would become of the engineer, the doctor, or the health officer, the collector of revenue, the expert in this or that branch or material, if the people did not give their money for public purposes? What would the government do with a negligent community without aspirations, refractory to progress and civilization?

Government exaggerations should cease. The most fervid praises, the greatest glories, the most signal triumphs should be for this people which desires to rule its own destinies because it has more than enough will and spirit and, above all, because it has a full consciousness of its responsibilities.

[EXHIBIT L]

(Translation)

Manila,
From "LA VANGUARDIA," Manila, Wednesday, January 22, 1913.

THE SOLE TRUTH.

(Editorial)

Do not think we are attacked by hyperesthesia and exaggerated sentimentality, but when they seek to call in question the holiness of our ideals and the necessity for our emancipation, every suggestion of frank and harmonious life together, reciprocal affection, mutual understanding and fraternization of wills seems to us cold, mortifying, inopportune, sarcastic, without the heat and intensity which the establishment of cordial, close, friendly relations requires. The virtue of gratitude in the noble, altruistic and humanitarian soul of this people is legendary. We have never allowed a benefit to pass without returning compensation with interest at the right time. A gesture of goodness, a friendly word, a philanthropic action find a ready echo in the heart of this country. And if they ever note in us a hostile, or at least, indifferent, expression, the cause of this phenomenon must be attributed to some injury, some scorn which they have inflicted on the dearest, most intimate, holy and inviolable part of our common sentiments as a united people which has a conscience of its national pride and of the destiny to which it is called in the future.

The imperialists, mistakenly believing that they are doing a patriotic and humane duty, have chosen the eve of a probable and necessary separation to unbosom the disdain, horror and antipathy which they feel for the liberty of this people. They are surprised at the natural aversion of natives for that imperialist Filipinophobia and ask for harmony and cordial relations between the two peoples. What an aberration!

After the campaign undertaken with ferocity by Mr. Taft, Dickinson, Stimson, Edwards, Forbes and all the primates of imperialism and by all the imperialist press, are there still any ill-advised persons too much animated by the spirit of conciliation who care to seek for harmony between the Filipino people and the imperialist party? Is not the institution which has purposed to bind us forever to the car of colonialism justly worthy of the dislike of all Filipinos who have not yet abjured the very noble and august religion of their elders?

Let them not obstruct the road of our felicity and they will be our best friends. Let them labor with us for the recognition of our fundamental rights and it will not be difficult for them to find the harmony they miss to-day. But so long as they do not lay aside their hostile and irreverent attitude toward this national, unanimous movement for liberty, let them not be surprised that the country declines to grant them consideration as friends and inseparable companions in the struggle for progress, well-being and civilization.

Whoever makes any manifestations contrary to our aspirations declares himself to be our enemy.

There is the sole truth.

[EXHIBIT M]

RULES OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

RULE I.

OF THE SPEAKER.

1. The Speaker, or President of the Philippine Assembly, who will be elected by viva voce at the beginning of each Legislature, will exercise the following faculties:

(a) To preside at the appointed fixed hour each day of the legislative session.

(b) To conserve order and decorum during the sessions, and, in case of altercation or disorderly conduct in the chamber, in the ante-chamber or in the passages or dependencies, to adopt the measures that he deems convenient.

(c) To decide all questions of order; but from his decision any member can appeal to the Chamber.

(d) To name the committees created or authorized by the Rules or agreed upon by the Chamber, as also the stenographers and other subordinates that may be necessary for the service of the Assembly, in the manner prescribed in Rule II.

(e) To suspend or dismiss any subordinate official or employee of the Assembly. The suspension or dismissal of the Secretary.

Ambeth Ocampo

The objects and purposes of the Association are (a) to promote and propagate historical knowledge and studies; (b) to collect and preserve relics, manuscripts, documents, and the like pertaining to the Philippines; and (c) to undertake any and other activities that will promote the objects and purposes of the Association. The regular membership fee in the Association is ₱20.00 a year which entitles a member to regular issues of the HISTORICAL BULLETIN free of charge. The life membership fee is ₱200.00.

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Articles for the HISTORICAL BULLETIN should be sent to the Editor-in-Chief, HISTORICAL BULLETIN, Philippine Historical Association, Room 409, Guido-Ver Bldg., M. Jhocson cor. España, Manila.

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